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The Guidiccioni Family between Lucca and Rome:

Artistic Patronage and Cultural Production 1530-1550ca.

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CONTENTS.....	V
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.....	VIII
LIST OF IMAGES.....	IX
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	XVI
VITA AND PUBLICATIONS.....	XVII
ABSTRACT.....	XIX
INTRODUCTION.....	1
1. LUCCA IN THE 16 TH CENTURY: HISTORY AND HISTORIOGRAPHY.....	6
1.1. Political Independence and Religious Crisis: towards a Definition of Civic Identity.....	6
1.2. Civic Identity and Artistic Expressions.....	27
1.2.1. Art “In the Name of Fra Bartolomeo”	27
1.2.2. The “Problem” of Artistic Patronage.....	42
2. THE GUIDICCIONI FAMILY BETWEEN LUCCA AND ROME.....	50
2.1. The Guidiccioni “Nobles and Merchants” in Lucca.....	50

2.2. The Guidiccioni and the Lucchese Community of Rome.....	67
2.2.1. “ <i>Natio Lucensis de Urbe</i> ”: the Lucchese Colony of Rome as a National Community.....	67
2.2.2. The Lucchese Community of Rome and the Papal Court. The Political and Cultural Background between Julius II and Paul III.....	75
 3. GIOVANNI GUIDICCIONI (1500-1541). DIPLOMAT, POET AND PATRON OF THE ARTS.....	93
3.1. From Lucca to Rome: the Religious and Diplomatic Career.....	93
3.2. A Sixteenth-Century <i>Letterato</i>	98
3.2.1. Giovanni Guidiccioni as a “Petrarchist”	100
3.2.2. The <i>Orazione ai nobili di Lucca</i> and the Political Reflection.....	109
3.2.3. Giovanni Guidiccioni in the Religious Debate of his Time.....	115
3.3. Giovanni Guidiccioni and the Arts.....	127
3.3.1. “ <i>Fatene fare schizzi a Perino</i> ”: Annibal Caro and a Celebratory Medal.....	127
3.3.2. A Fountain after Giovanni Gaddi’s <i>Grotto</i>	139
3.3.3. Other Art Commissions.....	143
3.3.4. The Funeral Monument.....	147
 4. ALESSANDRO GUIDICCIONI (1489-1552): CELEBRATING THE FAMILY POWER IN ROME.....	155
4.1. In the service of the Farnese Family.....	155
4.2. The Decoration of the Church and of the Hospital of Santo Spirito in Sassia.....	161

4.2.1.	Art and Politics in Santo Spirito in Sassia. The Renovation of the Church under Pope Paul III.....	163
4.2.2.	The Phases of Guidiccioni's Intervention: the Ceilings, The Ciboria, The Organ.....	171
4.2.3.	The Guidiccioni Chapel.....	187
4.2.3.1.	The Cycle of the Passion of Christ.....	192
4.2.3.2.	The <i>Pietà</i> Foderato.....	198
4.2.3.3.	Michele Grechi da Lucca and the Decorative Project.....	211
	Michele Grechi Painter and Engraver.....	213
	Michele Grechi in the Guidiccioni Chapel.....	226
4.2.4.	The Character of Alessandro Guidiccioni's Intervention.....	234
CONCLUSIONS.....		239
APPENDIX.....		242
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....		260
IMAGES.....		323

List of Abbreviations

ASC: Archivio Storico Capitolino

AsdLu: Archivio Storico Diocesano di Lucca

ASLu: Archivio di Stato di Lucca

ASNa: Archivio di Stato di Napoli

ASR: Archivio di Stato di Roma

BSL: Biblioteca Statale di Lucca

List of Images

- Fig. 1. Fra' Bartolomeo, *The Holy Father, St. Mary Magdalen and St. Catherine from Siena*, Lucca Museo Nazionale Villa Guinigi
- Fig. 2. Fra' Bartolomeo, *Madonna and Child between St. John the Baptist and St. Stephen*, Lucca, Cathedral
- Fig. 3. Fra' Bartolomeo, *Mater Misericordiae*, Lucca, Museo Nazionale Villa Guinigi
- Fig. 4 a. Giorgio Vasari, *Immaculate Conception*, Lucca, Museo Nazionale Villa Guinigi
- Fig. 4 b and c. Giorgio Vasari, lateral panels of *St. Biagio* and *St. Eustachio*, *Immaculate Conception*, Lucca, Museo Nazionale Villa Guinigi
- Fig. 5. Giorgio Vasari, *Nations Paying Homage to Paul III*, Sala dei Cento Giorni, Palace of the Cancelleria Apostolica, Rome
- Fig. 6. Façade, Guidiccioni Villa, Carignano (Lucca)
- Fig. 7. Plan of the ground floor, Guidiccioni Villa, Carignano (Lucca)
- Fig. 8. Façade, Guidiccioni Palace, Lucca
- Fig. 9. Angelo Leopoldo Ardinghi, *Palazzo Guidiccioni*, Lucca, Archivio di Stato
- Fig. 10. Portal, Guidiccioni Palace, Lucca
- Fig. 11. Window of the ground floor, Guidiccioni Palace, Lucca
- Fig. 12. Cortile degli Svizzeri, Palazzo Pubblico, Lucca
- Fig. 13. Masque of a window of the ground floor, Guidiccioni Palace, Lucca
- Fig. 14. Masque of the Cortile degli Svizzeri, Palazzo Pubblico, Lucca
- Fig. 15. Bernardi Palace, Lucca
- Fig. 16. Masque of a window of the outside wall, Villa Buonvisi, Lucca
- Fig. 17. Window of the second floor, Guidiccioni Palace, Lucca
- Fig. 18. Window of the outside wall, Villa Buonvisi, Lucca
- Fig. 19. *Volto Santo*, Church of SS. Cosma and Damiano, Rome
- Fig. 20. Perino del Vaga, *Quos Ego*, Windsor Castle, Royal Library, inv. RL 5497
- Fig. 21 a and b. After Alessandro Cesati, *Medal, recto and verso*, Brescia, Pinacoteca Civica Mazzucchelli I inv. LXVI.1

- Fig. 22. Alessandro Cesati, *Giovanni Guidiccioni*, steel die, 41mm, Edinburgh, National Museums of Scotland, inv. H QN 2
- Fig. 23. Perino del Vaga, *The Shipwreck of Aeneas*, Parigi, Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques, inv. 636
- Fig. 24. Giulio Bonasone, *The Shipwreck of Aeneas*, Bologna, Gabinetto Nazionale Disegni e delle Stampe, inv. P.N. 1709
- Fig. 25. Parmigianino, *Circe with the Companions of Ulysses*, Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe, inv. 750 E
- Fig. 26. Marcantonio Raimondi, *Quos Ego*, London, British Museum, Department of Prints & Drawings, inv. 1910,0212.340
- Fig. 27. Anonymous Italian Draftsman, Drawings of the grotto of Giovanni Gaddi, Rome, and a mask fountain, Christ Church Picture Gallery, Oxford, JBS 1481v
- Fig. 28. Funeral Monument of Giovanni Guidiccioni, Church of San Francesco, Lucca
- Fig. 29. Details, Funeral Monument of Giovanni Guidiccioni, Church of San Francesco, Lucca
- Fig. 30. Vincenzo Civitali, attrib., Cappella del Sacramento, Cathedral of San Martino, Lucca
- Fig. 31. Vincenzo Civitali, attrib., *Madonna and Child*, Porta Santa Maria, Lucca
- Fig. 32. Monument of Giano Grillo, Church of Santa Maria dei Servi, Lucca
- Fig. 33. Adrea Sansovino, Monument of Ascanio Sforza, Church of Santa Maria del Popolo, Rome
- Fig. 34. Adrea Sansovino, Monument of Girolamo Basso Della Rovere, Church of Santa Maria del Popolo, Rome
- Fig. 35. Monument of Matteo Bandini, Museo Nazionale di San Matteo, Pisa, inv. 4948
- Fig. 36. Giovanni Angelo Montorsoli, attrib., Monument of Mario Maffei, Cathedral, Volterra
- Fig. 37. Alfonso Lombardi, Ramazzotti Monument, Church of San Michele in Bosco, Bologna
- Fig. 38. Pierino da Vinci, Monument of Baldassarre Turini, Cathedral of Maria Santissima Assunta, Pescia

- Fig. 39. Altar, Cathedral of San Martino, Lucca
- Fig. 40. Giovanni Battista Falda, *Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia*, engraving from *Il nuovo teatro delle fabriche, e edifici, I prospettiva di Roma moderna*, Rome 1665
- Fig. 41. Façade, Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia, Rome
- Fig. 42. Interior, Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia, Rome
- Fig. 43. Aristotile da Sangallo, attr., *Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia*, sketch, Uffizi, 1118v
- Fig. 44. Pedro de Rubiales, *Conversion of Saul*, Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia, Rome
- Fig. 45. Marco Pino, *Visitation*, Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia, Rome
- Fig. 46. Vault, Chapel of Francesco De Landis, Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia, Rome
- Fig. 47 a and b. Details of the fresco decoration, Chapel of Francesco De Landis, Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia, Rome
- Fig. 48. Perino del Vaga's school, *Project for a Chapel*, Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich, inv. 34840
- Fig. 49. Ceiling of the nave Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia, Rome
- Fig. 50. Interior of Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia, Rome, engraving from P. Saulnier, *De Capite Sacri Ordinis S. Spiritus dissertatio*, Lyon 1649
- Fig. 51. Interior of Corsia Sistina, Hospital of Santo Spirito, Rome, engraving from P. Saulnier, *De Capite Sacri Ordinis S. Spiritus dissertatio*, Lyon 1649
- Fig. 52. View of the Nave Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia, Rome, engraving from P. Saulnier, *De Capite Sacri Ordinis S. Spiritus dissertatio*, Lyon 1649
- Fig. 53. Ciborium after restoration, Hospital of Santo Spirito, Rome
- Fig. 54. Ciborium before restoration, Hospital of Santo Spirito, Rome
- Fig. 55. Cupola of the Ciborium after restoration, Hospital of Santo Spirito, Rome
- Fig. 56. Cupola of the Ciborium before restoration, Hospital of Santo Spirito, Rome
- Fig. 57. Organ, Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia, Rome
- Fig. 58. Elevation of the Organ and Lateral Entrance in the Nave, Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia, Rome

- Fig. 59. Giorgio Vasari the Younger, *Drawing of the Organ Front*, Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia, Uffizi, Florence, inv. 4691r
- Fig. 60. Guidiccioni Chapel seen from the organ, Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia, Rome
- Fig. 61. Wall Elevation of Tribune, Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia, Rome
- Fig. 62 a, b and c. Guidiccioni Chapel, Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia, Rome
- Fig. 63. Michele Lucchese, the *Seizing of Christ*, Guidiccioni Chapel, Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia, Rome
- Fig. 64. Michele Lucchese, *Christ in front of Caiaphas*, Guidiccioni Chapel, Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia, Rome
- Fig. 65. Michele Lucchese, the *Flagellation*, Guidiccioni Chapel, Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia, Rome
- Fig. 66. Michele Lucchese, the *Crowning of Thorns*, Guidiccioni Chapel, Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia, Rome
- Fig. 67. Michele Lucchese, *Christ before Pilate* and a *Prophet*, Guidiccioni Chapel, Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia, Rome
- Fig. 68. Michele Lucchese, the *Way to Calvary*, Guidiccioni Chapel, Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia, Rome
- Fig. 69. Michele Lucchese, *Prophet* of the left-low pilaster, Guidiccioni Chapel, Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia, Rome
- Fig. 70. Michele Lucchese, *David*, Guidiccioni Chapel, Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia, Rome
- Fig. 71. Michele Lucchese, *Micah*, Guidiccioni Chapel, Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia, Rome
- Fig. 72. Foderato Memorial, Guidiccioni Chapel, Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia, Rome
- Fig. 73. *Pietà Foderato*, Guidiccioni Chapel, Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia, Rome
- Fig. 74. Michelangelo, *Pietà*, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston, inv. 1.2.o.16
- Fig. 75. Giulio Bonasone, *Pietà* after Michelangelo, The British Museum, London, inv. H, 4.68

- Fig. 76. *Pietà*, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Città del Vaticano, inv. OA 34
- Fig. 77. *Pietà Dusmet*, Palazzo Barberini, Rome
- Fig. 78. Jacopo del Duca, *Pietà of the Ciborium*, Certosa, Padula
- Fig. 79. Detail of the vault, Galleria degli Stucchi, Palazzo Spada-Capodiferro, Rome
- Fig. 80. Michele Lucchese, *History of Niobes- II*, after Polidoro da Caravaggio, Istituto Nazionale per la Grafica, Rome
- Fig. 81. Michele Lucchese, *History of Niobes-IV*, after Polidoro da Caravaggio, Albertina, Vienna, inv. I 31, f. 15
- Fig. 82. Michele Lucchese, *Loggetta of Cardinal Bibbiena*, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, inv. E.1538-1959
- Fig. 83. Michele Lucchese, the *Arrampicatori*, after Michelangelo, Castello Sforzesco, Raccolta delle Stampe Achille Bertarelli, Milan, inv. Art. prez. M. 165
- Fig. 84. Michele Lucchese, *Ezekiel*, after Michelangelo, British Museum, London
- Fig. 85. Michele Lucchese, the *Crucifixion of St. Peter*, after Michelangelo, Biblioteca Mauricelliana, Florence
- Fig. 86. Michele Lucchese, the *Last Judgement*, after Michelangelo, Biblioteca Mauricelliana, Florence
- Fig. 87. Michele Lucchese, *Prospettive et Antichità di Roma*, Biblioteca Casanatense, Rome
- Fig. 88. Jaques Androuet, *Vues d'optique*, Institut National d'histoire de l'art, Paris
- Fig. 89. Michele Lucchese, *Man of Sorrows*, Real Colección de Estampas, San Lorenzo de El Escorial, inv. 28-I-19, fol. 22/a
- Fig. 90. Albrecht Dürer, *Man of Sorrows*, Castello Sforzesco, Raccolta delle Stampe Bertarelli, Milan, inv. Art. prez. p. 195
- Fig. 91. Michele Lucchese, the *Asinaria*, Real Colección de Estampas, San Lorenzo de El Escorial, inv. inv. 28-I-19, fol. 41
- Fig. 92. Michele Lucchese, *Drawing with putti*, Musée du Louvre, Département des arts graphiques, Paris, inv. 1326
- Fig. 93 a and b. Circle of Perino del Vaga, *Dancing figures*, frescos from the Palace of Paolo III in Campidoglio, Accademia di Belle Arti, Rome

- Fig. 94. Circle of Perino del Vaga, *Dancing putti*, frescos from the Palace of Paolo III in Campidoglio, Accademia di Belle Arti, Rome
- Fig. 95 a and b. Michele Lucchese, *frieze with putti*, Room of Clement VII, Castel Sant'Angelo, Rome
- Fig. 96. Perino del Vaga, *Drawing for the Pucci Chapel*, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, Parker 1956, n. 728
- Fig. 97. Perino del Vaga, *Drawing for the Chapel of Crucifixion*, Church of San Marcello al Corso, Windsor Castle, Royal Library, inv. 01218
- Fig. 98. Perino del Vaga, *Holy Family with Saint John the Baptist*, The Courtauld Gallery, London
- Fig. 99. Perino del Vaga, *Drawing for the Madonna and Child with St. Francis*, Albertina, Vienna, n. 435
- Fig. 100. Perino del Vaga, *Madonna and Child with St. Joseph, St. Francis, and St. Dominic*, last chapel on the right side, Church of San Giorgio, Genoa
- Fig. 101 a, b and c. Perino del Vaga, *putti* from the Cathedral of Pisa, Soprintendenza per i Beni Ambientali, Architettonici, Artistici e Storici, Pisa
- Fig. 102. Detail of a vault, Loggia degli Eroi, Palazzo Doria, Genoa
- Fig. 103. Lunette, Loggia degli Eroi, Palazzo Doria, Genoa
- Fig. 104 a and b. Stucco reliefs, Guidiccioni Chapel, Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia, Rome
- Fig. 105 a and b. Stucco reliefs, Guidiccioni Chapel, Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia, Rome
- Fig. 106 a and b. Stucco reliefs, Loggia degli Eroi, Doria Palace, Genoa
- Fig. 107 a and b. Stucco reliefs, Sala della Biblioteca, Castel Sant'Angelo, Rome
- Fig. 108. *Apparition of Aeneas and Achates*, Palazzo Massimo, Rome
- Fig. 109. Detail, *Christ before Pilate*, Guidiccioni Chapel, Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia, Rome
- Fig. 110. Detail, frescos from the Palace of Paolo III in Campidoglio, Accademia di Belle Arti, Rome
- Fig. 111. Detail, the *Crowing of Thorns*, Guidiccioni Chapel, Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia, Rome

Fig. 112. Giovanni Antonio Dosio, *Dionysus Visiting a Tragic Poet*, Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin, Codex Beroliensis 79, DI, f. 26

Fig. 113. Michele Lucchese, *The Fall of Phaeton*, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, inv. DYCE.1333

Fig. 114. Michele Lucchese, *The Madonna of Silence*, Real Colección de Estampas, San Lorenzo de El Escorial

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Vita and publications

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PUBLICATIONS AND PRESENTATIONS

I. Taddeo. "Big Exhibitions 2010-2014: Institutions, Themes, Circulation. A Global Overview and the Case of Italy". *Tafer Journal*, n. 87 (marzo-aprile 2016).

I. Taddeo. "Alle origini dei *visual studies*: Alois Riegl e la distinzione tra valore artistico e culturale". Paper presented at *Orizzonti del Contemporaneo. Le scienze umane dagli anni '70 a oggi*. VIII Convegno Interdisciplinare dei Dottorandi e Dottori di ricerca. Università degli Studi di Roma Tor Vergata, 13-16 giugno 2016.

I. Taddeo. "Offending the Sacred: Blasphemous Images and Religious Iconoclasm in Contemporary Western Culture". Paper presented at *The West: Concept, Narrative and Politics*. International Conference. University of Jyväskylä (Finland), Department of History and Ethnology, December 8-9, 2016.

Abstract

The thesis examines the artistic patronage of Giovanni (1500-1541) and Alessandro (1489-1552) Guidiccioni, who, as representatives of one of the most powerful families of sixteenth-century Lucca, held important diplomatic and religious positions at the court of Pope Paul III. The analysis aims to define the nature of artistic patronage in Lucca and Rome of these two noticeable representatives of the Guidiccioni family, in the framework of their extensive cultural production, which mainly found expression in literary and religious interests. Through the Guidiccioni case, the study seeks to contribute to the understanding of the cultural relationships between Lucca and Rome in the period between the Sack of Rome and the opening of the Council of Trento. This period corresponds with the moment of most intense religious debate on the topic of a Catholic response to Luther's Reformation. In Lucca, this phase was characterized by a widespread diffusion of heterodox religious ideas, which largely affected the class of nobles-merchants ruling the town. The Guidiccioni case is framed in the study of patronage as a varied network of relationships, which essentially contributes to the understanding of a cultural context. In light of Lucca's peculiar religious identity, the research aims to verify how the study of artistic patronage contributes to redefining a historical analysis that, from a political perspective, has mainly focused either on Lucca's opposition or its forced adhesion to the directive of the Roman court, in the context of the interaction between the two cities.

Introduction

This thesis is concerned with the artistic patronage of certain representatives of the Guidiccioni family, a noble family of sixteenth-century Lucca. The Guidiccioni belonged to the class of noble-merchants that, organized as extended family groups and acting on European markets, constituted the government of the town in the Cinquecento. Their activity in displays of patronage in the 16th century, as part of a wider cultural production, allows for an understanding of both the participation of some eminent members of the family in the contemporary cultural debate and their strategies of self-representation and promotion. In this regard, the case of the Guidiccioni offers an insight into artistic patronage - as connected with other forms of cultural expression - in the specific context of sixteenth-century Lucca. This town was in itself a peripheral microcosm of the Italian and European scenario that, as an independent republic, was marked by a well-defined civic identity. At the same time, the presence of some members of the Guidiccioni family at the Papal court between the 1530s and the 1550s ensured that their artistic patronage and their participation in the contemporary cultural debate were also performed in the Roman context.

The research focuses on the role of Giovanni (1500-1541) and Alessandro (1489-1552) Guidiccioni in the contemporary artistic and cultural development. Both men held important diplomatic and religious positions at the court of Pope Paul III thanks to their uncle Bartolomeo (1469-1549), who was a cardinal of the Roman Church. The study aims to establish the nature of the artistic patronage of these two noticeable representatives of the Guidiccioni family in Lucca and Rome. It aims to do this in the framework of Guidiccioni's more extensive cultural production that mainly found expression in literary and religious interests. Through the Guidiccioni case, the study seeks to contribute to an understanding of the cultural relationships between Lucca and Rome in the period between the Sack of Rome and the opening of the Council of Trento. This period corresponds with a moment of most intense and

diversified religious debate about a Catholic response to Luther's Reformation. In Lucca, this phase was characterized by a wide diffusion of heterodox religious ideas, which largely affected the class of noble-merchants ruling the town. In light of Lucca's specific religious identity, the research aims to investigate the interaction between the town and the Roman court, which has so far been mainly analyzed in political terms, while ignoring the perspective of patronage.

The first chapter outlines the historical context of sixteenth-century Lucca, highlighting the political independence of the town and its intense religious debate, which have been identified as its main characterizing elements. The chapter delineates the case of Lucca in the context of the evolution of studies of heretical movements in Italy. Moreover, it discusses the central influence that the religious background of the town has had in the interpretation of local artistic production, from the diffusion of Savonarola's thought to the spread of Luther's ideas. In this regard, the analysis focuses on the centrality of Fra Bartolomeo's paintings in the evolution of sixteenth-century Lucca's artistic expressions. The importance of this artistic experience in the Lucchese context has been reconsidered because of its long-lasting influence on local figurative language. This reconsideration involves examining it not only as a manifestation of the diffusion of Savonarola's preaching in Lucca at the beginning of the 16th century, but also in terms of a participation of the town in the cultural politics of the convent of San Marco in Florence, mediated by the Dominican convent of San Romano and by the Lucchese friar Sante Pagnini. This experience highlights the complex cultural networks of the town in a period that seems to be a necessary premise to Lucca's cultural expressions of the mid-sixteenth century. The discussion of the interpretations of Lucca's artistic manifestation has also led this research to question the successive influence on local artistic patronage of the Reformation's disregard for religious images. In this regard, it has analyzed the case of Lucca in the general framework of the different interactions between the ideas of religious reformation and the artistic expressions in mid-sixteenth century Italy.

The second chapter illustrates the rise of the Guidiccioni family, from their origins to their political prominence in the 16th century. It demonstrates the fundamental role of Cardinal Bartolomeo in promoting the family's prestige in Rome and expressing its power in Lucca through the construction of the Guidiccioni Palace and villa. Starting with the case of the Guidiccioni, the analysis outlines some traits of the Lucchese community of Rome in the 16th century. In this context, the study highlights how the Lucchese "nation" of Rome, strengthened by the political protection of Paul III, actively participated in Roman academic life in the 1530s and 1540s, which found expression in the *Accademia dei Vignaiuoli* and the *Accademia della Virtù*.

The third chapter focuses on Giovanni Guidiccioni's cultural activity. It examines the essential traits of Giovanni's literary production, contextualizing it in the framework of the linguistic debate of mid-sixteenth-century Italy, with a specific reference to the development of Pietro Bembo's theories. The analysis discusses the interpretations of the literate by modern studies, which have progressively described Giovanni's cultural role and his network of personal relationships. These included some of the most important representatives of the "spiritual" movement, starting with Vittoria Colonna. The definition of the precise nature of Giovanni's relationship with the "spiritual" movement has mainly influenced the interpretation of the literate's cultural positions. In this regard, understanding the artistic patronage of Giovanni Guidiccioni contributes to clarifying the literate's participation in the contemporary cultural background. Specifically, Giovanni's personal artistic interests, which found expression in Lucca in the project of his funeral monument, mainly refer in Rome to the humanistic circle gathering firstly around Ippolito de' Medici and then Giovanni Gaddi, which was characterized by a peculiar combination of literary and antiquarian interests.

The fourth chapter describes Alessandro Guidiccioni's large decorative intervention in the Church and the Hospital of Santo Spirito in Sassia in Rome. The analysis highlights the papal character of this extensive commission, which is confirmed by the selection of such an artist as the Lucchese Michele Grechi for the ornamentation of the family chapel. An

examination of the painter's activity, including the attribution to him of a frieze in Castel Sant'Angelo, highlights his centrality to papal decorations, under the guidance of Perino del Vaga, as well as his familiarity with Michelangelo's admirers. The profile of the artist contributes to the interpretation of a stucco relief derived from Michelangelo's *Pietà* composition for Vittoria Colonna, which has been the primary focus of scholars' attention towards the elements of Alessandro Guidiccioni chapel's decoration. Simultaneously, the association between Alessandro Guidiccioni and Michele Lucchese represents a particular case of Lucchese patronage outside the context of sixteenth-century Lucca that contributes to the understanding of civic artistic expression in this particular historical phase.

The analysis of the Guidiccioni artistic patronage, in its close reference to the contemporary cultural and religious background, raises some methodological concerns. Firstly, the study aims to establish the contribution of artistic patronage to the understanding of the cultural expressions between Lucca and Rome in the mid-sixteenth century. In this regard, the research outlines the contemporary cultural background, with a specific reference to its literary and religious debate. This approach implies a large use of literary, documentary, and artistic sources. However, the examination moves on from the perspective of the artistic expressions that represent the focus of the analysis. Specifically, the description of the sixteenth-century religious and cultural background is designed to provide a framework for the discussion of the decisions and motivations of the protagonists of the thesis. Nevertheless, the importance of the religious topic has led the research to adopt some specific approaches.

Indeed, the centrality of the religious analysis has led to a consideration of the wide arrangement of religious positions that characterized the mid-sixteenth-century and that have determined the identification of a multiplicity of cultural sources and religious attitudes between the categories of "orthodox Catholics" and "Reformed adherents".¹ The

¹ On this problem, see in particular, Carlo Ginzburg, and Adriano Prosperi, *Giochi di Pazzienza. Un seminario sul «Beneficio di Cristo»* (Torino: Einaudi, 1977)

study therefore moves on from the recognition of the complexity of sixteenth-century religious ideas and the variety of the heterodox positions themselves. Moreover, the thesis has questioned in a problematic way the relationship between the religious background of the mid-sixteenth century and its related artistic expressions. This relationship seems to be complicated by the aforementioned multiplicity of religious positions, as well as by the diversified nature of the interaction itself and the structural ambiguity of the works of art.²

The Guidiccioni case is framed in the study of patronage as a varied network of relationships, which essentially participate in the understanding of a cultural context.³ The research aims to verify how artistic patronage contributes to redefining a historical analysis that, from a political perspective, has mainly focused either on Lucca's opposition or its forced adhesion to the directive of the Roman court, in the context of the interaction between the two cities. In conclusion, the research aims, from the perspective of patronage, to frame the participation of the peculiar context of sixteenth-century Lucca in the elaboration of the deep cultural transformations that led to the Counter-Reformation.

and Carlo Ginzburg, *Il formaggio e i vermi. Il cosmo di un mugnaio del '500* (Torino: Giulio Einaudi editore, 2009).

² Massimo Firpo and Fabrizio Biferali, *Immagini ed eresie nell'Italia del Cinquecento* (Bari: Editori Laterza, 2016), VII-XXI.

³ On this interpretation of Renaissance patronage, see in particular Salvatore Settis, *Artisti e committenti fra Quattro e Cinquecento* (Torino: Giulio Einaudi editore, 2010).

1. Lucca in the 16th Century: History and Historiography

1.1 Political Independence and Religious Crisis: towards a Definition of Civic Identity

« In the study of the Italian political system of the 16th century, Lucca does not appear to be very significant, and, once its physiognomy of Imperial city has been recognized, there is not much left to say. However, none of the other Italian States renounced pursuing an autonomous politics with more resolution and awareness than Lucca.»⁴ In the first monography on sixteenth-century Lucca, Marino Berengo identified the main peculiarity of this town of Tuscany - and the main reason of interest in studying it – as the incessant defense of autonomy it carried out. The political independence marked the importance of Lucca as an original case in the historical development that led to the crisis of the free Republican forms of organization of the city life in Cinquecento Italy, as well as to the resulting rise of the *Signorie*.⁵ Berengo's analysis used

⁴ Marino Berengo, *Nobili e Mercanti nella Lucca del Cinquecento* (Torino: Giulio Einaudi Editore, 1974), 12. The translation is by the author. Unless otherwise specified, all the translations are by the author.

⁵ Marino Berengo, *Città italiana e città europea. Ricerche storiche* (Reggio Emilia: Edizioni Diabasis, 2010). See especially chapter 3, "La 'decadenza' della città", 233-255. See also Marino Berengo, *L'Europa delle città. Il volto della società urbana europea tra Medioevo e età moderna* (Torino: Giulio Einaudi Editore, 1999). For a critical analysis of Berengo's study on 16th-century Lucca, see *Per I Trent'anni di Nobili e Mercanti nella Lucca del Cinquecento. Atti della giornata di studi in onore di Marino Berengo (Lucca, 21 ottobre 1995)* (Lucca: Comune di Lucca, 1998). In particular, Elena Fasano Guarini outlines the importance of Berengo's work in the study of the transformation of the Italian political context of the 16th century. Elena Fasano Guarini "'Nobili e mercanti nella Lucca del Cinquecento' trent'anni dopo", in *Per I Trent'anni di Nobili e Mercanti*, 9-21.

archival documents, erudite works on the noble families of Lucca⁶ and on the antiquity of the town⁷, and the first modern study by Augusto Mancini on the history of city from the ancient times to the Borbone domination.⁸ On the other hand, it re-elaborated these sources in an inquiry that integrated Lucca in the Italian and European background of the 16th century. This perspective opened the way to the following studies of the city context, which have more deeply examined the transformation of Lucca's identity with reference to internal and external elements of change.⁹

⁶ Lucca, Biblioteca Statale, mss. 1101-1139, *Notizie genealogiche delle famiglie lucchesi* di Giuseppe Vincenzo Baroni.

⁷ The main sources on Lucca history are Tolomeo, *Annales Lucenses*, in B. Schmeidler, ed., *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, n. s. VIII (1930); Rangerio, *Vita Anselmi*, in B. Schmeidler, ed., *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, Script. XXX, 2 (1929); Giovanni Sercambi, *Croniche*, in Salvatore Bongi, ed., *Fonti per la Storia d'Italia* (Lucca: 1892); *Memorie e documenti per servire all'istoria dello stato e città di Lucca* (Lucca: 1813); Pietro Guidi and Oreste Parenti, *Regesti del Capitolo di Lucca* (Roma: 1910); Salvatore Bongi, *Inventario del Regio Archivio di Stato in Lucca* (Lucca: 1872-88). Before the studies of the second half of the 20th century, the most important works on the history of Lucca are represented by Antonio Mazzarosa, *Storia di Lucca dalle origini al MDCCCXIV* (Lucca: Tipografia Giusti, 1833); Girolamo Tommasi and Carlo Minutoli, *Sommario della Storia di Lucca dall'anno MIV all'anno MDCC* (Firenze: 1847); Giuseppe Civitali, *Histoire di Lucca*, edited by M. F. Leonardi (Roma: Istituto Storico Italiano per l'Età Moderna e Contemporanea, 1983-1988); Evangeline E. Whipple, *A Famous Corner of Tuscany* (London: Jarrolds, 1928).

⁸ Augusto Mancini, *Storia di Lucca* (Firenze: Sansoni editore, 1950).

⁹ The main studies on the social, economic and political background of 16th-century Lucca are represented by Isa Belli Barsali, ed., *I palazzi dei mercanti nella libera Lucca del '500. Immagine di una città-stato al tempo dei Medici* (Lucca: Maria Pacini Fazzi editore, 1980); Rita Mazzei and Tommaso Fanfani, eds., *Lucca e l'Europa degli affari. Secoli XV-XVII, Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi (Lucca 1-2 dicembre 1989)* (Lucca: Maria Pacini Fazzi editore, 1990); Renzo Sabbatini, "Lucca, lunga sopravvivenza repubblicana", in Elena Fasano Guarini, ed., *Storia della civiltà toscana. Vol III. Il Principato Mediceo* (Firenze: Le Monnier, 2008), 77-108; Renzo Sabbatini, *Le mura e l'Europa. Aspetti della politica estera della Repubblica di Lucca (1500-1799)* (Milano: Franco Angeli, 2012). On the commercial character

A Republic since the 12th century, Lucca gained its modern physiognomy throughout a process of redefinition of the character of the town, which started soon after the tyranny of Paolo Guinigi, at the beginning of the 15th century.¹⁰ The ephemeral parenthesis of the *Principato* did not cause the return to the old civic institutions, which

of the town in comparison with contemporary European contexts, see Sergio Bertelli, *Trittico. Lucca, Ragusa, Boston. Tre città mercantili tra Cinque e Seicento* (Roma: Donzelli Editore, 2004). The case of Lucca has been analysed in studies on the Italian cities and on the Italian political system of the 16th century. See, in particular, Simonetta Adorni Braccesi and Guja Simonetti, “Lucca, Repubblica e città imperiale da Carlo IV di Boemia a Carlo V”, in Simonetta Adorni Braccesi and Mario Ascheri, eds., *Politica e cultura nelle Repubbliche italiane dal Medioevo all’età moderna. Firenze-Genova-Lucca-Siena-Venezia, Atti del Convegno (Siena 1997)* (Roma: Istituto Storico Italiano per l’Età Moderna e Contemporanea, 2001), 267-308; Stefano Tabacchi, “Lucca e Carlo V. Tra difesa della “libertas” e adesione al sistema imperiale”, in Francesca Cantù and Maria Antonietta Visceglia, eds., *L’Italia di Carlo V. Guerra religione e politica nel primo Cinquecento. Atti del convegno internazionale (Roma 5-7 aprile 2001)* (Roma: Viella, 2003), 411-432; Renzo Sabbatini, “Lucca, la Repubblica prudente”, in Elena Fasano Guarini and others, eds., *Repubblicanesimo e Repubbliche nell’Europa di antico regime* (Milano: FrancoAngeli, 2007), 253-286; Renzo Sabbatini, “La diplomazia come strumento di autoconservazione: considerazioni sulla politica estera della Repubblica di Lucca”, in Renzo Sabbatini and Paola Volpini, eds., *Sulla diplomazia in età moderna. Politica, economia, religione* (Milano: FrancoAngeli, 2011), 101-123; Renzo Sabbatini, “Lucca e il suo territorio (secoli XV-XVIII)”, in Giuliano Pinto and Lorenzo Tanzini, eds., *Poteri centrali e autonomie nella Toscana medievale e moderna. Atti del convegno di studi (Firenze, 18-19 dicembre 2008)* (Firenze, Leo S. Olschki Editore, 2012), 135-160. In the second half of the 20th century, the main studies on 16th-century Lucca have analyzed the religious background of the city. See later in this chapter.

¹⁰ Paolo Guinigi established a *Signoria* in Lucca between 1400 and 1430. On the *Signoria* of Paolo Guinigi, see “Paolo Guinigi e il suo tempo. Atti del convegno (Lucca, 24-25 maggio 2001)”, *Quaderni lucchesi di studi sul Medioevo e Rinascimento*, 4 (2003). See also Ken Johnson, *Lucca in the Signoria of Paolo Guinigi, 1400-1430*, PhD Dissertation, University of North Texas, May 2002. On the cultural politics of Paolo Guinigi, see Clara Altavista, *Lucca e Paolo Guinigi (1400-1430). La costruzione di una corte rinascimentale. Città, architettura, arte* (Pisa: Edizioni ETS, 2005).

were instead replaced by an extended form of government. A group of 24 families guaranteed the control of political and economic power on a shared basis, laying the foundation for a renovated republic. This would be an oligarchy that was able to manage the needs of autonomy and authority of the town, as well prevent the concentration of power. Poggi, Arnolfini, Bernardi, Trenta, Burlamacchi, Cenami, Guinigi, Balbani, Guidicioni, Franciotti, Mei represented an enlarged elite that, in a fragile balance, created the “most popular” government of Italy.¹¹ As previously mentioned, the main feature of this government was the turnover of individuals and the recurrence of men of the same families in the control of the institutions. Indeed, the family (an extended community of men with the same name) was the core of Lucca’s government and Lucca’s society more generally.¹² It had the character of a family of merchants, who were dedicated to the exchange of textiles all over Europe, particularly in Belgium and France. Anvers, Lyon, London, Paris and Bruxelles were the main markets of a wealthy trading that influenced every trait of Lucca’s society.¹³ This produced the association between “*mercatura*” and “*nobiltà*” - the qualities of “being a merchant” and the “being a noble” - that was at the basis of the establishing of power in the town during the 16th century.¹⁴

The definition of political equilibrium was a long-lasting process, which was characterized by unrest and instability. In 1522, the Poggi family – the family with the highest number of representatives in Lucca’s institutions – attempted to overthrow the republican government to its advantage. This failed attempt to replace the Republic with a tyranny was followed by a strengthening of the oligarchic regime. In 1531, the

¹¹ Berengo, *Nobili e mercanti*, 30-31.

¹² *Ibid.*, 31-53.

¹³ Mazzei and Fanfani, *Lucca e l'Europa degli affari*. See also Giorgio Tori “Le compagnie mercantili a Lucca e all'estero nella seconda metà del sec. XVI”, 63-90, and Donata Devoti, “La produzione serica a Lucca nel '500”, in Barsali, *I palazzi dei mercanti*, 69-99; Bertelli, *Trittico. Lucca, Ragusa, Boston*. On the Lucchese merchants in Lyon, see Richard Gascon, *Grand commerce et vie urbaine au XVIe siècle. Lyon et ses marchands* (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N., 1971).

¹⁴ Berengo, “*Mercatura e nobiltà*”, in *Nobili e mercanti*, 235-290.

concentration of power in fewer families caused, in turn, the insurrection of the subaltern classes, leading to the so-called “*moto degli Straccioni*”.¹⁵ The efforts to shift the nature of the newborn oligarchic regime in the opposite directions of tyranny and enlargement of the republican power outline the limits of the government of nobles-merchants. In order to react against the tyranny and the social tensions, Lucca adopted a more comprehensive form of oligarchy, whose institutions were seen as the only guarantee of independence. The *Collegio Generale* and the *Consiglio degli Anziani*, the two main bodies of Lucca’s government,¹⁶ remained considered as the foundation of the civil life of the only independent republic that survived in the context of the *Granducato* of Tuscany.

At the same time, the defense of civic independence was the result of the interaction between Lucca and at the least three main actors: the Empire, Florence and the Roman Church. In 1521, the re-opening of the war between France and the Empire forced Lucca, which had traditionally adopted a politics of neutrality in the conflicts between the major States, to ask for the safeguard of Charles V.¹⁷ Despite the importance of the commercial interests of Lucca merchants in Paris and Lyon, which encouraged good relationships with France, imperial politics crucially influenced the life of the small republic. In particular, it ensured the coexistence of Lucca and Florence, whose relationship had historically been marked by rivalry and conflict. Indeed, the expansion of Florence, at the expense of the free cities of Tuscany (initially Pisa and

¹⁵ Mancini, *Storia di Lucca*, 217-225; Berengo, “Dai Poggi agli Straccioni”, in *Nobili e mercanti*, 83-146.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* See also Antonio Romiti, “La struttura istituzionale della Repubblica lucchese nel sec. XVI”, in Barsali, *I palazzi dei mercanti*, 31-59.

¹⁷ Adorni Braccesi and Simonetti, “Lucca, Repubblica e città imperiale”; Tabacchi, “Lucca e Carlo V”; Sabbatini, *Le mura e l’Europa*, 121-156. On the politics of Charles V in Italy, see also Marcello Fantoni, ed., *Carlo V e l’Italia. Seminario di studi (Georgetown University a Villa Le Balze, 14-15 dicembre 2000)* (Roma: Bulzoni, 2000); Thomas James Dandeleet and John A. Marino, eds., *Spain in Italy. Politics, Society and Religion 1500-1700* (Leiden: Brill, 2007); Eleonora Bonora, *Aspettando l’imperatore. Principi italiani tra il papa e Carlo V* (Torino: Giulio Einaudi editore, 2014).

Siena)¹⁸ clashed with Lucca's defense of its freedom. Moreover, the Popes of the Medici family, Leo X and Clement VII, produced the identification between the interests of Florence and the interests of the Roman Church. As an example of this overlapping of policy concerns, Pope Leo X allocated the castles of Pietrasanta and Morone to Florence in 1513 (subtracting them from the control of Lucca) and removed the dioceses of Pescia from Lucca's authority in 1519.¹⁹ At the same time, the relationship between Lucca and Rome was characterized by ambiguity. At the beginning of the century, the Franciotti-Della Rovere family encouraged the collaboration between Lucca and the Roman Church.²⁰ Subsequently, Lucca became a center of primary importance in the political strategy of Pope Paul III: the politics of the Farnese family, in opposition to the Medici, defended Lucca against the expansion of Florence;²¹ and in 1541, Lucca was the location of a meeting between the

¹⁸ Florence conquered Pisa in 1406. In 1494, at the Medici's fall, Pisa rose up and proclaimed a Second Republic, which survived until 1509, when the Medici restored themselves to power. Between 1554 and 1555 the Duke of Florence Cosimo I conquered Siena. See Furio Diaz, *Il Granducato di Toscana. I Medici*, in Giuseppe Galasso, ed., *Storia d'Italia* (Torino: UTET, 1976), vol. 13.

¹⁹ Berengo, *Nobili e mercanti*. See also Adorni Braccesi and Simonetti, "Lucca, Repubblica e città imperiale".

²⁰ Galeotto Franciotti della Rovere, a representative of the family Franciotti from Lucca and a relative of the Popes Sixtus IV and Julius II Della Rovere, was the Bishop of Lucca between 1502 and 1508. His half-brother Sisto Gara Della Rovere administered the dioceses of Lucca between 1503 and 1517. They were both in a good relationship with Pope Leo X. Raffaele Riario was the Bishop of Lucca for a short period, between 8 March and 13 November 1517. Francesco Riario Sforza was nominated Bishop in 1517 and held the office until his death, in 1466. Giorgio Tori, "I vescovi della diocesi di Lucca in epoca moderna", in Claudio Lamioni, ed., *Istituzioni e società in Toscana nell'età moderna. Atti delle giornate di studio dedicate a Giuseppe Pansini* (Firenze, 4-5 dicembre 1992) (Firenze: Edifir, 1994), 717-728. Paolo Cherubini, *ad vocem* "FRANCIOTTI DELLA ROVERE, Galeotto", in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Roma: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, 1998), vol. 50, 165-167; Matteo Sanfilippo, *ad vocem* "GARA DELLA ROVERE, Sisto", in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Roma: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, 1999), vol. 52, 219-220.

²¹ Berengo, *Nobili e mercanti*, 165-169.

Pope and Charles V.²² Lucca's contradictory relationship with Rome has encouraged historical interpretations that have analyzed the interaction between the two cities in terms of either hostility or Lucca's forced adoption of the religious politics of the Church. On the other hand, questioning the inner contribution of Lucca to the elaboration of this religious politics seems to be an essential contribution to the understanding of both Rome's political strategies and Lucca's historical position.

The relationship with the Church introduces the problem of the participation of Lucca in the religious crisis of the sixteenth century, which has especially attracted the attention of scholars, beginning with the work of Berengo.²³ Indeed, in the second half of the 20th century, the analysis of the city context has been essentially driven by the study of the religious background of the Republic, which was characterized by a large spreading of heterodox ideas, from Girolamo Savonarola's preaching to Protestant religion. It is interesting to observe that the analysis of the diffusion of "heretical" ideas in Lucca introduced the historical studies of the city context in the twentieth century. In 1935, Arturo Pascal examined the religious emigration of Protestant Lucchese merchants.²⁴ In the 1950s, Augusto Mancini and Renzo Ristori studied, respectively, the diffusion and the repression of heterodox religious ideas and the origins of the Reformed movement in the town.²⁵ After Berengo's analysis, the milestones of this historiographical development can be identified in the studies by Salvatore Caponetto on the diffusion of Protestant religion in Tuscany and later in Italy, as well as in the monography by Simonetta Adorni Braccesi on the religious crisis of

²² During the meeting, the Pope and the Emperor discussed the general political situation and the opening of the Council of Reformation of the Church. Hubert Jedin, *Storia del Concilio di Trento* (Brescia: Morcelliana, 1987), vol. 1, 501-502.

²³ The last chapter of *Nobili and mercanti* – "La vita religiosa" – is about Lucca religious framework.

²⁴ Arturo Pascal, *Da Lucca a Ginevra (studi sull'emigrazione religiosa lucchese a Ginevra nel secolo XVI)* (Pinerolo: Unione Tipografica Pinerolese, 1935).

²⁵ Mancini, *Storia di Lucca*, 227-237; Renzo Ristori, "Le origini della Riforma a Lucca", *Rinascimento*, dicembre 1952, 269-292.

sixteenth-century Lucca.²⁶ These examinations of the religious background of the town lead to question about the influence that the evolution of the studies on the heterodox movements in Italy exercised on inquiries into the context of Lucca.²⁷ On the other hand, the problem

²⁶ Salvatore Caponetto, *Aonio Paleario (1503-1570) e la Riforma protestante in Toscana* (Torino: Claudiana, 1979); Salvatore Caponetto, *La Riforma protestante nell'Italia del Cinquecento* (Torino: Claudiana, 1992); Simonetta Adorni Braccesi, «Una città infetta». *La Repubblica di Lucca nella crisi religiosa del Cinquecento* (Firenze: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1994). The book of Adorni Braccesi represents the most complete study of the religious dissent in 16th-century Lucca. Another significant analysis of Lucca religious context is in Massimo Firpo, *Riforma protestante ed eresie nell'Italia del Cinquecento. Un profilo storico* (Bari: Editori Laterza, 1993). The religious background of the town was examined in the conference on the participation of the Italian cities to the religious politics of the 16th century, which was organized in Lucca, in 1983. *Città italiane del '500 tra Riforma e Controriforma. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi (Lucca, 13-15 ottobre 1983)* (Lucca: Maria Pacini Fazzi, 1988). See, in particular, Simonetta Adorni Braccesi, "Il dissenso religioso nel contesto urbano lucchese della Controriforma", 225-239.

²⁷ An analysis of the evolution of the studies on Lucca religious crisis, in the context of the evolution of the studies on the "heretical" movements in Italy, is carried out by Domenico Maselli. See Domenico Maselli, "Lucca tra Riforma e Controriforma", in *Per I Trent'anni di Nobili e Mercanti*. Elena Fasano Guarini highlights the reference to Delio Cantimori as one of the main sources of Berengo's historiographical analysis of the crisis of the Italian Renaissance. Guarini, "Nobili e mercanti nella Lucca del Cinquecento". Among the studies of Cantimori on the "heretical" movements in Italy, see, at least, Delio Cantimori, *Umanesimo e religione nel Rinascimento* (Torino: Einaudi, 1980) and Delio Cantimori, *Eretici italiani del Cinquecento e Prospettive di Storia ereticale italiana del Cinquecento*, edited by Adriano Prosperi (Torino: Giulio Einaudi editore, 2009). They represented a significant point of reference for successive studies focusing on the heretical movements in Italy and on the participation of key representatives of the Church of Rome to heterodox ideas. The bibliography on the topic is, obviously, very extended. See, at least, Adriano Prosperi, *Tra evangelismo e Controriforma. G. M. Giberti (1495-1543)* (Roma: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1969); Ginzburg and Prosperi, *Giochi di Pazienza. Un seminario sul «Beneficio di Cristo»*; Paolo Simoncelli, *Evangelismo italiano del Cinquecento. Questione religiosa e nicodemismo politico* (Roma: Istituto storico per l'età moderna

can be investigated by examining how research into the town has contributed to the general framework of studies of the religious crisis of sixteenth-century Italy. Before considering these problems, it is essential to summarize the most important elements of what has been defined as the “civic religion” of the town: the practices allowing the everyday relationship with the sacred in the city context.²⁸

The powerful families of nobles-merchants ruling the town were mainly tied to the convents of San Frediano (belonging to the Canons Regular of

e contemporanea, 1979); Massimo Firpo, *Inquisizione romana e Controriforma. Studi sul cardinale Giovanni Morone e il suo processo di eresia* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1992); Massimo Firpo, *Vittore Soranzo vescovo ed eretico. Riforma della Chiesa e Inquisizione nell'Italia del Cinquecento* (Roma: Laterza, 2006); Adriano Prosperi, *Eresie e devozioni. La religione italiana in età moderna* (Roma: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 2010). On the diffusion of Protestant religion in Italy see Caponetto, *La Riforma protestante*, and Firpo, *Riforma protestante ed eresie*. The representatives of the Protestant movement in Italy are analyzed in Adriano Prosperi and others, eds., *Dizionario storico dell'Inquisizione* (Pisa: Edizioni della Normale, 2010), 4 vol. For a general framework of the religious dissent in 16th-century Italy, see Carlo Ginzburg, “Folklore, magia, religione”, in *Storia d'Italia. I caratteri originali* (Torino: Giulio Einaudi editore, 1972), vol. 1, in particular 636-659, and Giovanni Miccoli, “La storia religiosa. Crisi e restaurazione cattolica nel Cinquecento”, in *Storia d'Italia. Dalla caduta dell'Impero romano al secolo XVIII* (Torino, Giulio Einaudi editore, 1974), vol. 2, I, 975-1079. For an overview of the evolution of the studies on the Reformation in Italy between 1939 and 2009 see Silvana Seidel Menchi, “The Age of Reformation and Counter-Reformation in Italian Historiography, 1939-2009”, *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, 100 (2009), 193-217; John Tedeschi and others, eds., *The Italian Reformation of the Sixteenth Century and the Diffusion of Renaissance Culture. A Bibliography of the Secondary Literature (Ca. 1750-1997)* (Modena: Panini, 2000); Silvana Seidel Menchi and Serena Luzzi, “L'Italia della Riforma, l'Italia senza Riforma”, in *Cristiani d'Italia. Chiese, società, Stato, 1861-2011* (Roma: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia italiana, 2011), vol. 1, 75-90.

²⁸ The definition of “civic religion” is by Luigi Donvito, “«La religione cittadina» e le nuove prospettive del Cinquecento religioso italiano”, *Rivista di storia e letteratura religiosa*, n. 19 (1983), 431-474. It is recalled by Adorni Braccesi, «Una città infetta», 3-7.

the Lateran) and San Romano (belonging to the Dominicans).²⁹ They represented the two main centers of attraction and organization of the social life of the Republic, whereas the Cathedral of San Martino was used for the most official ritual events. The cult of the Passion of Christ - supported by the adoration of the city relics, the “*Volto Santo*” - integrates the description of the essential features of the religious expressions of Lucca’s society.³⁰ In this context, ideas of religious renewal found the conditions for their diffusion, starting with Girolamo Savonarola’s preaching at the end of the 15th century.

The Dominican friar from Ferrara’s message of Christian regeneration and apocalyptic expectations enjoyed a rapid and long-lasting circulation at every level of society in Lucca. This spreading was fostered by the corruption of the local secular clergy and by the authority of the convent of San Romano, which entered the Florentine Congregation of San Marco in 1498.³¹ San Romano hosted Savonarola’s followers, as the

²⁹ On the role of the convents of San Frediano and San Romano in Lucca, see Innocenzo Taurisano, *I domenicani in Lucca* (Lucca: Libreria Editrice Baroni, 1914); Isabella Gagliardi, *Li trofei della croce. L’esperienza gesuata e la società lucchese tra Medioevo ed età Moderna* (Roma: Edizioni di Storia e letteratura, 2005); Sergio Pagano and Pierantonio Piatti, eds., *Il patrimonio documentario della chiesa di Lucca. Prospettive di ricerca. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi (Lucca, Archivio Arcivescovile, 14-15 novembre 2008)* (Firenze: Sismel-Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2010). On the convent of San Romano, see, in particular, Armando Verde and Domenico Corsi, “La “Cronaca” del convento domenicano di San Romano di Lucca”, *Memorie domenicane*, n. 21 (1991) and Simonetta Adorni Braccesi, “Il convento di San Romano di Lucca fra Riforma e Controriforma. Una ricerca in corso”, in Gian Carlo Garfagnini, ed., *Savonarola e la Politica* (Firenze: Sismel, Edizioni del Galluzzo, 1997), 187-207.

³⁰ Berengo, *Nobili e mercanti*, 357-377; Adorni Braccesi, «*Una città infetta*», 1-52. On the cult of the city relics, the “*Volto Santo*” - a 13th-century wooden crucifix located in Lucca Cathedral - see Pietro Lazzarini, *Il Volto Santo di Lucca 782-1982* (Lucca: Maria Pacini Fazzi editore, 1982).

³¹ Adorni Braccesi, «*Una città infetta*», 29-52. See also Adorni Braccesi, “Il convento di San Romano di Lucca”.

Lucchese friars Pacifico Burlamacchi and Sante Pagnini,³² who kept the message of their master alive into the new century. They also contributed to reorganize the Dominican community of the town according to an inspiration to simplicity morals and to the study of the sacred texts.³³ Moreover, the influence of Savonarola's followers in Lucca was not limited to religion, but had rather a decisive impact on the political life of the Republic.

The politics of reconciliation with the traditional powers – the Medici family, the civic institutions of Florence and the Roman Church - that the friars of San Marco pursued after Savonarola's death was based on the collaboration between the Florentine convent and the other convents of the Tosco-Roman Congregation.³⁴ In this regard, the convent of San Romano in Lucca had a close relationship with San Marco, which was mainly mediated by Sante Pagnini. As one of major Hebrew scholars of his time, Pagnini is known for his intellectual activity, which found expression in the publication of several literary works. His major effort was the translation of the Old and New Testament from Hebrew into Latin, which was finally published in 1528, thanks to rich Florentine and Lucchese merchants residing in Lyon. Pagnini's intellectual activity was accompanied by a relevant religious career, which saw him become the prior of the convents of San Domenico in Pistoia (in 1502), Santo Spirito in Siena (in 1506), San Domenico in Fiesole (in 1510), San Marco in

³² On Fra Pacifico Burlamacchi, see Taurisano, *I domenicani in Lucca*, *ad. ind.*; Verde and Corsi, "La "Cronaca" del convento di San Romano", *ad. ind.*; Marisa Desideri Trigari, *ad vocem* "BURLAMACCHI, Pacifico", in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Roma: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia italiana, 1972), vol. 15, 451-452. On Sante Pagnini see n. 32 in this chapter, and paragraph 2.1.

³³ Adorni Braccesi, «Una città infetta», 29-52 and "Il convento di San Romano di Lucca".

³⁴ On the Savonarolan movement see Donald Weinstein, *Savonarola and Florence. Prophecy and Patriotism in the Renaissance* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1970); Lorenzo Polizzotto, *The Elect Nation. The Savonarolan Movement in Florence 1494-1545* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994); Alessio G. M. Assonitis, *Art and Savonarolism in Florence and Rome* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: UMI, 2003). See also Luigi Lazzarini, *Nessuno è innocente. Le tre morti di Pietro Pagolo Boscoli* (Firenze: Leo S. Olschki, 2002).

Florence (in 1504-1505 and 1511-1513), San Romano in Lucca (in 1507-1508 and 1513-1515), Santa Maria Sopra Minerva in Rome (in 1519-1521). In 1508-1509, he was appointed the Vicar-General of the Congregation of San Marco.³⁵ Pagnini was largely responsible for the politics of

³⁵ Born in Lucca in 1470, Fra Sante Pagnini was dressed by Savonarola in 1492. Encouraged by Savonarola himself, he pursued the study of Hebrew language, until he became one of the major Hebrew scholars of his time. In the role of Hebrew teacher, Leo X called him in Rome, in 1516. His intellectual interests included the study of Greek, Chaldean and Arabic language. Apart from the translation of the Bible, his most important literary works are: the *Isagogae ad Sacras Litteras* - an encyclopaedic attempt to codify the mystical interpretation of the Scripture; the *Enchiridion* - a dictionary of Aramaic and Hebrew words; Hebrew and Greek Grammars. The main source on the life of Pagnini is Guglielmo Pagnino, *Vita di Santi Pagnino lucchese dell'ordine de' predicatori* (Roma: 1653). The main studies on Pagnini have been especially published by *Memorie domenicane*: Edgar Wind, "Sante Pagnini and Michelangelo. A study of the succession of Savonarola", *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, July-December 1944, 211-246; Timoteo Centi, "L'attività letteraria di Sante Pagnini (1470-1536) nel campo delle scienze bibliche", *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, Volumen XV (1945), 5-51; Armando Verde, "La Congregazione di San Marco dell'ordine dei frati predicatori", *Memorie domenicane*, n.s., n. 14 (1983), 157-237; Verde and Corsi, "La cronaca del convento domenicano di S. Romano"; Armando Verde and Elettra Giaconi, "Epistolario di Fra Vincenzo Mainardi da San Gimignano domenicano, 1481-1527", *Memorie domenicane*, n.s., n. 23 (1992); Adorni Braccesi, «Una città infetta», *ad. ind.*; Polizzotto, *The Elect Nation*, *ad. ind.*; Massimiliano Coli, "La lettera su S. Michele di Guamo del Maestro Generale Vincenzo Bandello ai frati di S. Romano di Lucca e i rapporti tra loro e con i lucchesi, laici e religiosi", *Memorie domenicane*, n.s., n. 27 (1996), 545-601; Adorni Braccesi, "Il convento di San Romano"; Anna Morisi Guerra, "La Paraphrasis in Beati Johannis Apostoli Canonicam Epistolam di Nicolaus Schönberg", *Memorie domenicane*, n.s., n. 29 (1998), 425-440; Massimiliano Coli, "La grande et animosa impresa di Sancto Giorgio." Come e perché il monastero di San Giorgio a Lucca nacque e crebbe savonaroliano", *Memorie domenicane*, n.s., n. 29 (1998), 341-387; Eugenio Lenzi, "Sante Pagnini, illustre ebraista lucchese del Cinquecento", *Rivista di archeologia, storia, costume*, Anno XXVI, n. 1 (1998), 27-30; Assonitis, *Art and Savonarolism*, in particular 128-146; Armando Verde and Elettra Giaconi, "Epistolario di Fra Santi Rucellai", *Memorie domenicane*, n. 34 (2003); Giulio Busi, *L'enigma dell'ebraico nel Rinascimento* (Torino: Nino Aragno Editore, 2007), *ad. ind.*; Massimiliano Coli, *La*

reconciliation with the traditional powers that the Congregation of San Marco adopted after Savonarola's death. When he was leading the Congregation, in 1508, he played a major role in the acquisition of the Convent of San Silvestro al Quirinale in Rome, which would become one of the most important symbols of the association between the *piagnoni* and the Holy Seat.³⁶ In Lucca, he provided San Romano with a new political importance, which was based on the alliance with the Convent of San Marco in Florence and with the institutions of the Lucca Republic. On the one hand, San Romano shared and became an instrument of the politics of "normalization"³⁷ that the convent of San Marco followed after Savonarola's death. In 1509, the protection assured by Pope Julius II to San Romano Convent after the consecration of the altar clearly illustrates the reconciliation with the Church of Rome that the Congregation of San Marco embraced at the beginning of the sixteenth century (Doc. 1).³⁸ On the other hand, San Romano tried to defend its freedom and to affirm its autonomy from Florence, reinforcing the identification of its interests with the interests of Lucca government. In this regard, Pagnini was responsible for a request for independence of San Romano Convent from the authority of the Florentine Congregation.³⁹ He accompanied this action with a visible indication of the association with Lucca institutions: a corridor between the convent

cronaca del monastero domenicano di S. Giorgio di Lucca (Pisa: Edizioni ETS, 2009), *ad. ind.*; Anna Morisi Guerra, "L'eredità savonaroliana nell'opera di Santi Pagnini", *Memorie domenicane*, n.s., n. 40 (2009), 189-202; Elsa Kammerer, "La parole en Latin: Sante Pagnini, un hébraïsant catholique à Lyon", in ead., *Jean de Vauzelles et le creuset lyonnais. Un humaniste catholique au service de Marguerite de Navarre entre France, Italie et Allemagne (1520-1550)* (Genève: Librairie Droz, 2013), 253-281; Saverio Campanini, *ad vocem* "PAGNINI, Antonio Baldino", in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Roma: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia italiana, 2015), vol. 80, 333.

³⁶ Assonitis, *Art and Savonarolism*, 128-137.

³⁷ Polizzotto, *The Elect Nation*; Assonitis, *Art and Savonarolism*.

³⁸ The consecration was requested by Sante Pagnini. ASL, Diplomatico, San Romano, n. 645 (1st May 1509).

³⁹ Massimiliano Coli, "La lettera su S. Michele di Guamo". The episode is discussed by Assonitis, *Art and Savonarolism*, 135-136.

and the Palace of the *Anziani* that allowed the representatives of the Republic to directly access the Dominican church from their institutional seat.⁴⁰

Hence, the relevance of the “Savonarolan” influence in Lucca was related to the original association between the convent of San Romano and the Florentine Congregation. This collaboration determined the participation of the Lucchese context in a network of cultural and political relationships that finally connected it to the Church of Rome. Despite its peculiar character, the alliance between the Convent of San Romano and the Roman Church must be considered as a necessary premise to the analysis of the relationships between Lucca and Rome in the most intense phase of diffusion of heretical ideas that affected the Lucchese Republic.

Moreover, the wide influence of Savonarola’s preaching has been interpreted as an element of mediation to the success of Lutheran ideas in the city context.⁴¹ In this regard, the case of Lucca can be framed in the studies on the causes of the diffusion of heterodox ideas in sixteenth-century Italy. In the wide bibliography on the topic, the analysis of the origins of the “heretical” attitudes has been focused on some relevant subjects. One of the most important can be identified in the establishment of a continuity between Savonarola’s thought and the ideas of religious renovation of successive movements of reformation of the Church, from the “spiritual” movement to Protestant religion itself. Criticism of the corruption of the Church, the necessity of a return to Cristian simplicity, and a focus on the original text of the Holy Bible, all represent elements of connection that have allowed an interpretation of Savonarola’s preaching in terms of a breeding ground, where generic and moralistic anti-roman tendencies became doctrinal anti-roman tendencies.⁴² On the other hand, this continuity must not be considered

⁴⁰ Adorni Braccesi, «Una città infetta», 29-52; Adorni Braccesi, “Il convento di San Romano di Lucca”.

⁴¹ Adorni Braccesi, «Una città infetta», 29-52.

⁴² Paolo Simoncelli, *Evangelismo italiano*, 6. See especially chapter I, “Savonarolismo e Evangelismo”, 1-42. On the relationship between

in terms of a direct and extensive influence of Savonarola's thought on Lutheran ideas. Indeed, the Dominicans of San Romano acted to defend the orthodoxy of Catholic religion in the hardest phase of the religious conflicts in the town. In doing so, they represented one of the most effective instruments in the struggle against the heresy in Lucca and an actual expression of the Church of Counter-Reformation.

The analysis of the diffusion of "heretical" ideas in Italy has recognized another distinctive feature in the tendency to combine the objectives of Christian Humanism and Reformed religion. These different sources would be merged in a general ethic and religious renewal.⁴³ In the study of Lucca religious crisis, Simonetta Adorni Braccesi has pointed out the wide diffusion of Erasmus' thought, with a particular reference to the following factors: his struggle against religious superstitions, the importance of interior piety, and a more direct and critical approach to the Sacred Text.⁴⁴ These ideas combined with Savonarola's inspiration in the development of a local "spiritual" movement. As an example of the continuity between the influences of Erasmus and Savonarola, the scholar has referred to the publication Pagnini's Bible. This was carried out thanks to the patronage of representatives of the Italian "spiritual"

Savonarolism and Evangelism see also Ginzburg, "Folklore, magia, religione" and Miccoli, "La storia religiosa".

⁴³ In particular, on the diffusion of Erasmus's thought in Italy, see Silvana Seidel Menchi, *Erasmus in Italia. 1520-1580* (Torino: Bollati Boringhieri Editore, 1987). See also Salvatore Caponetto, "Erasmus e le genesi dell'espressione «Beneficio di Cristo»", *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa. Lettere, Storia e Filosofia*, serie II, vol. 37, n. 3/4 (1968), 271-274; Eugenio Garin, "Erasmus e l'Umanesimo italiano", *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, XXXIII (1971), 7-17; Myron P. Gilmore, "Italian Reactions to Erasmian Humanism", in Heiko A. Oberman and Thomas A. Brady Jr., eds., *Itinerarium Italicum. The Profile of the Italian Renaissance in the Mirror of Its European Transformations* (Leiden: Brill, 1975), 61-116; Delio Cantimori, "Atteggiamenti della vita culturale italiana di fronte alla Riforma", "Erasmus e la vita morale e religiosa italiana", "Note su Erasmus e l'Italia", in *Umanesimo e religione*.

⁴⁴ On the Erasmian movement and its relationships with the diffusion of Protestant religion in Tuscany, see Caponetto, *Aonio Paleario*, 41-57; Caponetto, *La Riforma protestante*, 323-324.

movement, such as Federico Fregoso, and the financial support of a group of Tuscan Bankers, who, in turn, seem to have been followers of something close to “Erasmian” ideals.⁴⁵ These inspirations do not complete the analysis of the cultural sources of Lucca “spiritual” group, which, as Adorni Braccesi has highlighted, was deeply influenced by Juan de Valdés’ religious thought, among other components.⁴⁶ The identification of a “spiritual” movement implies a reference to the analysis of the various attitudes that characterized the religious crisis of the 16th century in Italy. In the limits of such traditional categories as “Catholic Reformation” and “Protestant Reformation” in the investigation the entire array of religious ideas,⁴⁷ “spiritual” – or “evangelic” – has identified a “third historiographical category”. More precisely, this definition has been referred to a religious position that aimed to reform the Church from the inside, without a break with its institutional role, despite the proximity to Protestant religion on some

⁴⁵ Although Pagnini, in France, acted against the diffusion of Protestant religion, the success of his work in the context of the ‘spiritual movement’ is shown by the presence of his books in the libraries of important representatives of the Italian Evangelism like Marcantonio Flaminio and Pietro Bembo. Wind, “Sante Pagnini and Michelangelo”, 245-246; Alessandro Pastore, “Due biblioteche umanistiche del Cinquecento (I libri del cardinal Pole e di Marcantonio Flaminio)”, *Rinascimento*, n. 19 (1979), 269-290. On Federico Fregoso, see the recent publication by Guillaume Alonge: *Condottiero, Cardinale, Eretico. Federico Fregoso nella crisi politica e religiosa del Cinquecento* (Roma: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 2017).

⁴⁶ On the diffusion of Valdés’ religious thought in Italy, see Massimo Firpo, *Dal Sacco di Roma all’Inquisizione. Studi su Juan de Valdés e la Riforma italiana* (Alessandria: Edizioni dell’Orso, 1998); Massimo Firpo, *Juan de Valdés e la Riforma nell’Italia del Cinquecento* (Bari: Editori Laterza, 2016).

⁴⁷ Ginzburg and Prosperi, *Giochi di Pazienza*. On the variety of religious attitudes that characterized the adhesion to heterodox ideas in the 16th century – and on the consequent limits of traditional historiographical definitions to identify the multiplicity of cultural sources of the religious attitudes – see Ginzburg, *Il formaggio e i vermi*.

theological problems, as the justification by faith alone.⁴⁸ The analysis of the case of Lucca has underlined the historical development of the local “spiritual” movement, which, since mid-16th century, had left the institutional Church and assumed a truly Calvinist character.⁴⁹

Among sixteenth-century Lucca nobles, it was common to attribute the responsibility for the diffusion in Lucca of Lutheran religion in the town to the commercial interests of some Lucchese merchants, who had been exposed to heretical ideas in the Countries of northern Europe. This interpretation saw in religious dissent a threat to the survival of the Republic: Giovanni di Vincenzo Saminati compared heresy to an infection coming from the outside of the civil body and threatening the harmony of the city; and Giovanni Guidiccioni described Lutheran religion as an external danger for the independence of the town.⁵⁰ Modern studies have highlighted the complex spiritual and political concerns that influenced the religious crisis in Lucca, as well as the

⁴⁸ Simoncelli, *Evangelismo italiano*, 19. Simoncelli defends the use of “spiritual” or “evangelic” as a historiographical category. On the other hand, recalling Cantimori and Rotondò, he also highlights the limits and the risks of this historiographical definition: to create theological-doctrinal levels (from orthodoxy to heresy); to ignore any quantitative proportion in the analysis of the diffusion of religious ideas; to include in the definition of “Evangelism” every religious attitude that cannot be attached to the categories of “Catholic Reformation” or “Protestant Reformation”. *Ibid.* Trevor Roper defines as “Protestant Catholics” those Catholics who re-elaborated the thought of Savonarola and Erasmus and adopted a religious attitude close to Protestant religion. See Hugh Trevor-Roper, *Religion, The Reformation and Social Change* (London: Mcmillan, 1972). This definition is never used in the studies on Lucca “spiritual” movement.

⁴⁹ Adorni Braccesi, «Una città infetta», 243. The definition of Lucca Reformed community as “*Ecclesia Lucensis*” was based on the comparison with the Calvinist community of Cremona, which Federico Chabod had defined as “*Ecclesia Cremonensis*”. *Ibid.* See also Berengo, *Nobili e mercanti*, 431-432.

⁵⁰ Adorni Braccesi, «Una città infetta», 50-52 and 83-84. Giovanni Guidiccioni’s ideas are expressed in his *Orazione ai nobili di Lucca*, edited by Carlo Dionisotti, (Milano: Adelphi Edizioni, 1994). For a complete analysis of Giovanni Guidiccioni’s life, thought and cultural production see chapter 3.

relationships between Lucca's "heretical" movement and other heterodox contexts in Italy, from Florence to Venice.⁵¹ On the other hand, modern analyses have confirmed the importance of commerce in northern Europe as a source for an exchange of ideas and books, which facilitated the diffusion of Protestant religion in the town.⁵² In this regard, the situation of Lucca has been compared to that in Venice, whose commercial importance was a vital element in the widespread diffusion of Protestant ideas in that city. The comparison with Venice has also appeared to be particularly significant for the affinity between the institutional forms of the two towns. These were two free Republics, whose independence has been considered as another element that might have encouraged the success of Protestant religion. For the same reason, Lucca has been compared even more often with the free cities of Switzerland, which was the mother country of Calvinist ideas – the same Protestant church that diffused in Lucca.⁵³ In the case of Lucca, the self-determining government not only acted in order to assure the independence of the town from any external interference, particularly the intrusion of the Holy See, in the matters of the Republic, but was also the core of the dissemination of heretical ideas in the city.

Although it certainly also diffused at the lower levels of society, heretical ideas in Lucca were characterized by a large diffusion among the families of nobles-merchants ruling the town. The wide penetration of heretics into the governmental class was a peculiar trait, which assured the long-lasting vitality of the heretical ideas and their strength. This was the element that led Lucca to be defined as "the most heretical

⁵¹ Adorni Braccesi, «Una città infetta». On the diffusion of "heretical" ideas in Florence and Venice, see respectively John Martin, *Venice's Hidden Enemies. Italian Heretics in a Renaissance City* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004) and Massimo Firpo, *Gli affreschi di Pontormo a San Lorenzo. Eresia, politica e cultura nella Firenze di Cosimo I* (Torino: Giulio Einaudi editore, 1997).

⁵² Mancini, *Storia di Lucca*, 229; Ristori, "Le origini della Riforma a Lucca"; Adorni Braccesi, «Una città infetta», 53-143.

⁵³ On the similarities between Lucca, Venice and the free cities of Switzerland, see Adorni Braccesi, «Una città infetta», 21-26.

town of Italy”.⁵⁴ The government endorsed the presence in Lucca of thinkers that would be accused of heresy, such as in the role of public teachers Pietro Martire Vermigli⁵⁵ and Aonio Paleario.⁵⁶ The support of the families of nobles-merchants also assured the presence in the city of Bernardino Ochino, who preached in Lucca in 1538 (although he was not actually suspected of heresy yet).⁵⁷ Moreover, the action of the government was essential in avoiding the establishment of the Inquisition in the town, which might have overpassed the civil laws of the Republic.⁵⁸ The convent of San Frediano, which was a focal point for

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 319.

⁵⁵ Pietro Martire Vermigli was in Lucca in 1541-1542 as the prior of San Frediano. Berengo, *Nobili e mercanti*, 413-419; Adorni Braccesi, «Una città infetta», 109-143. On Peter Martyr Vermigli see Philip McNair, *Peter Martyr in Italy. An Anatomy of Apostasy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967); Emidio Campi, ed., *Peter Martyr Vermigli. Humanism, Republicanism, Reformation* (Genève: Librairie Droz, 2002); Achille Olivieri, ed., *Pietro Martire Vermigli (1499-1562). Umanista, riformatore, pastore. Atti del convegno per il V centenario (Padova, 28-29 ottobre 1999)* (Roma: Herder, 2003).

⁵⁶ Aonio Paleario was in Lucca between 1546 and 1555. Adorni Braccesi, «Una città infetta», 186-220. On Aonio Paleario see Caponetto, *Aonio Paleario*. See also Ernesto Gallina, *Aonio Paleario* (Sora: Centro di studi sorani ‘Vincenzo Patriarca’, 1989); Simone Ragagli, *ad vocem* “Paleario, Aonio”, in *Dizionario storico dell’Inquisizione*, vol. III, 1159; Chiara Quaranta, *ad vocem* “PALEARIO, Aonio”, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Roma: Istituto dell’Enciclopedia italiana, 2014), vol. 80.

⁵⁷ The preaching of Ochino in Lucca had a large resonance. Vittoria Colonna went to Lucca too, to be present at the preaching. Adorni Braccesi, «Una città infetta», 88-109. See also Miguel Gotor, “«Se prima non reggi e drizzi te stesso, non amerai, né edificerai mai il prossimo tuo»: la predicazione di Bernardino Ochino a Lucca nel 1538”, *Actum Luce*, XL, 1-2 (2011), 77-99. For an exhaustive bibliography on Bernardino Ochino see *ad vocem* “Ochino, Bernardino”, in Tedeschi and others, *The Italian Reformation of the Sixteenth Century*, 361-378. For a bibliography including the most recent studies see Miguel Gotor, *ad vocem* “OCHINO, Bernardino”, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Roma: Istituto dell’Enciclopedia italiana, 2013), vol. 79.

⁵⁸ Lucca was the only Italian State to resist successfully the introduction of the Roman Inquisition. The Bishop took charge of the defense of Catholic religion.

the organization of the religious life of the city, became the epicenter of the dissemination of Lutheran ideas.⁵⁹

As has been observed, religious dissent in sixteenth-century Lucca was indissolubly tied to the definition of political independence. When, in 1542, Pietro Fatinelli was arrested on charges of attacking the political freedom of the Republic in a new attempt to establish a tyranny, he defended himself by affirming that he did not act to seize power, but rather to moderate the government and extirpate the heresy spreading there. The religious implications of the episode concluded in the traditional deathbed conversion to the Reformed religion of Fatinelli himself, which was very likely invented by the families of nobles ruling the town to restore the image of the government.⁶⁰ For opposite reasons,

Moreover, a civic body, the “*Offizio sopra la religione*”, exercised control on religious matters. Adorni Braccesi, “*La Repubblica di Lucca e «l’aborrita» Inquisizione. Istituzioni e società*”, in Andrea Del Col and Giovanni Paolin, eds., *L’Inquisizione romana in Italia nell’età moderna. Archivi, problemi di metodo e nuove ricerche* (Roma: PAS, 1991), 333-362; Adorni Braccesi, “*Una città infetta*”, 319-385; Adriano Prosperi, *L’Inquisizione romana. Letture e ricerche* (Roma: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 2003), in particular 59-60.

⁵⁹ Berengo, *Nobili e mercanti*; Adorni Braccesi, “*Una città infetta*”.

⁶⁰ Berengo, *Nobili e mercanti*, 183-190; Simonetta Adorni Braccesi, “*Eterodossia e politica nella “notabil conversione” di Pietro Fatinelli (1542-1543)*”, *Critica storica*, XXVII, 2 (1990), 209-234; Adorni Braccesi, “*Una città infetta*”, 145-161. On Pietro Fatinelli see also Lazzerini, *Nessuno è innocente*, in particular “*Parte II, Capitolo I, Pietri Fatinelli*”, 91-110. Pietro Fatinelli, the son of Niccolò Fatinelli, was Giovanni Guidiccioni’s nephew from his mother’s side. A negative description of Pietro Fatinelli is contained in Giovanni Guidiccioni’s letters: “*Perché ho sempre conosciuto l’animo tuo tutto rivolto a camminare per vie torte e non convenienti alla età tua, né alla buona fama degli avi tuoi, e che ogni fatica che io vi ho spesa e che spendere vi potessi per rimovetene è stata e saria vana, mi sono ancora io ritirato per lungo spazio di tempo dal confortarti di ripigliare il vero cammino e mi sono rimasto di porgerti quello aiuto, il quale già cominciato avea per seguirarlo. E pensava io fermamente che ti bastasse meritare biasimo, senza volere crescere in eccellenza di tutti i vizi e procedere in tanta insolenzia, non prezzando né padre né madre, né parente, né amico, né Dio, ancora che me ne venga fin qui la puzza e che, perduto l’onore, tu meni gli anni come un sozzo mostro, in cui spento ogni lume di virtù, vivono a prova i vizi*”. Giovanni Guidiccioni,

the conspiracy of Francesco Burlamacchi was also characterized by religious aspects. In 1546, this man attempted to carry out the project of liberating Tuscany from Medici rule in order to create a confederation of free cities. The plan had a faithful inspiration, as the aim of its author - a representative of the Reformed movement of the Republic - was a renovation of religious life through a reformation of the political order.⁶¹ The mutual dependence of political and religious problems in the definition of the identity of Lucca has been described as the distinctive element of the process leading to the creation of the modern Republic. The late adapting of Lucca to the orthodoxy of Catholic religion, with the consequent migration of the inflexible Protestants to Switzerland and France,⁶² has been defined as the inevitable submission to the triumphal reaction of the Roman Church.⁶³ Simultaneously, it has been outlined how the civic freedom that had threatened the established power of the Medici State turned into an oligarchic power. It preserved the political independence, but transformed the commercial vocation of the town in an increasingly aristocratic manner.⁶⁴ This interpretation analyzes the intertwined relationship between political and religious questions in terms of Lucca's adaption the political and religious order of Counter-Reformation.⁶⁵ On the other hand, it seems to overlook the participation of Lucca's aristocracy in the process of the inner reformation of the Church of Rome. The "not-linear" religious expressions of Lucca society, the links between Lucca Reformed movement and other heterodox movements in Italy and Europe and the complex relationship between Lucca and Rome (including the contradictory process of repression of heresy)⁶⁶ lead to the question of the role of Lucca in the internal debate on the reformation of the Church. This analysis seems to be an essential

Le lettere, edited by Maria Teresa Graziosi (Roma: Bonacci Editore, 1979), vol. 1, n. LVII, 133-135.

⁶¹ Berengo, *Nobili e mercanti*, 190-203; Adorni Braccesi, «Una città infetta», 161-190.

⁶² Pascal, *Da Lucca a Ginevra*.

⁶³ Berengo, *Nobili e mercanti*; Adorni Braccesi, «Una città infetta».

⁶⁴ Berengo, *Nobili e mercanti*, 454.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶ Adorni Braccesi, «Una città infetta».

contribution to the understanding of the variety of religious ideas and attitudes that characterized the religious crisis of the 16th century in Italy. At the same time, it seems to be crucial for the study of the transformation of the civic identity of Cinquecento Lucca.

1.2 Civic Identity and Artistic Expressions

Lucca civic identity, specifically its religious conditions, have had a major role in the interpretation of the cultural expressions of the town. This reading is especially true for visual arts.

1.2.1 Art "In the Name of Fra Bartolomeo"

Renaissance art in Lucca has been analysed in terms of a local production, which from the 15th century seems to be characterized by a "critically oriented eclecticism".⁶⁷ In particular, the delineation of the

⁶⁷ The definition is by Massimo Ferretti in "Percorso lucchese", *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa*, serie III, vol. V, 3 (1975), 1036. On Lucca artistic production in the 15th and 16th century see also Ernesto Borelli, "Orientamenti della pittura lucchese nel sec. XVI", *La Provincia di Lucca*, anno XVI, n. 3 (luglio-settembre 1976), 20-43; Maurizia Tazartes, "Committenza popolare in San Frediano di Lucca – I", *Ricerche di Storia dell'Arte*, n. 13-14 (1981), 111-118; Maurizia Tazartes, "Aspertini da Bologna a Lucca: gli affreschi della cappella di Sant'Agostino in San Frediano", *Ricerche di Storia dell'Arte*, n. 17 (1982), 29-48; Maurizia Tazartes, "Artisti e committenti ai primi del Cinquecento in San Frediano di Lucca", *Ricerche di Storia dell'Arte*, n. 21 (1983), 4-20; Ernesto Borelli, *Nel segno di Fra Bartolomeo. Pittori del Cinquecento a Lucca* (Lucca: Maria Pacini Fazzi Editore, 1984); Clara Baracchini and others, "Pittori a Lucca tra '400 e 500. 1 Annotazioni a margine. 2 Notizie biografiche", *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa*, serie III, vol. XVI, 3 (1986), 743-824; Graziano Concioni and others, *I Pittori Rinascimentali a Lucca* (Lucca: Rugani Edizioni d'Arte, 1988); Roberto Paolo Ciardi, "Lucca a Roma vs Lucca e Roma. Intersezioni tra cultura locale e grandi modelli figurativi", in *La pittura a Lucca nel primo Seicento*, Catalogo della mostra (Lucca, Museo Nazionale di Villa Guinigi; Museo

main features of local artistic language closely depended on the contribution of external experiences that settled in the civic context, thus directly influencing the figurative culture of the town. After the case of Jacopo della Quercia, at the beginning of the 15th century⁶⁸, the works of two Florentine painters were essential for the development of the artistic language in Lucca at the end of the Quattrocento. Domenico Ghirlandaio, with his altarpiece in the Cathedral of San Martino (1479)⁶⁹, and Filippino Lippi, with his *Sacra Conversazione* in the Church of San Michele in Foro (1483)⁷⁰, oriented the production of local artists towards

Nazionale di Palazzo Mansi, Dicembre 1994 – Maggio 1995) (Lucca: Maria Pacini Fazzi Editore, 1994), 19-44; Roberto Contini, “La pittura del Seicento a Pisa, Lucca, nella fascia costiera e nella Toscana settentrionale”, in Mina Gregori and Eric Schleier, eds., *La pittura in Italia. Il Seicento* (Milano: Electa, 2001), vol. I, 325-337; Maurizia Tazartes, “La pittura a Pisa e a Lucca nel Cinquecento”, in Giuliano Briganti, ed., *La pittura in Italia. Il Cinquecento* (Milano: Mondadori Electa, 2003), vol. I, 325-334.

⁶⁸ In 1406-1408, Jacopo della Quercia realized the funeral monument of Ilaria del Carretto, the wife of the master of Lucca Paolo Guinigi, in Lucca Cathedral. See

⁶⁹ The *Madonna and Child between SS. Peter, Clemens, Sebastian and Paul* was likely commissioned by Domenico Bertini, *operaio* of Lucca Cathedral, for the altar dedicated to SS. Peter, Paul and Clemens. By 1820, it had been moved to the sacristy, where it has been until today. Ferretti, “Percorso lucchese”, 1037-1040; Mauro Natale, “Note sulla pittura lucchese alla fine del Quattrocento”, *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal*, vol. VIII (1980), 44-46; Maurizia Tazartes, “Anagrafe lucchese – II. Michele Ciampanti: Il Maestro di Stratonice?”, *Ricerche di Storia dell’Arte*, n. 26 (1985), 22; Maurizia Tazartes, “La pittura a Pisa e a Lucca nel Quattrocento”, in Federico Zeri, ed., *La pittura in Italia. Il Quattrocento* (Milano: Electa, 1987), 309; Ronald G. Kecks, Ghirlandaio. *Catalogo completo* (Firenze: Octavo, Franco Cantini Editore, 1995), 11 and n. 8, 109-110; Jean K. Cadogan, *Domenico Ghirlandaio. Artist and Artisan* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000), 55-60 and n. 21, 245-246.

⁷⁰ The painting showing *Four Saints* was realized for the Chapel of Jacopo Magrini in the Church of San Michele in Foro. Ferretti, “Percorso lucchese”, 1036-1040; Natale, “Note sulla pittura lucchese”, 35-62; Tazartes, “Anagrafe lucchese – II. Michele Ciampanti”, 22; Tazartes, “La pittura a Pisa e a Lucca nel Quattrocento”, 309; Concioni and others, *I Pittori Rinascimentali*, 126-135; Luciano Berti and Umberto Baldini, *Filippino Lippi* (Firenze: Edizioni d’Arte Il Fiorino,

the abandon of the linear style of Botticelli and the deeper study of Leonardo's painting and Flemish art.⁷¹ The activity of Amico Aspertini in the Church of San Frediano in 1508-1509 also opened the new century to the expressions of an original Renaissance painter. His frescos showing the history of the city relics, the *Volto Santo*, in the Chapel of the Cross have been described as almost a visual manifestation of Lucca "civic religion".⁷² Their expressive style influenced local painters, as well

1991), 59 and 179; Patrizia Zambrano and Jonathan Katz Nelson, *Filippino Lippi* (Milano: Mondadori Electa, 2004), 26-28 and n. 23, 335-337. For Lucca, Filippino realized other two paintings showing SS. *Benedetto and Apollonia*, *Paolo and Frediano*, today at the Norton Simon Museum in Pasadena (CA). See Concioni and others, *I Pittori Rinascimentali*, 126-131; Massimo Ferretti, "Trittico lucchese", in Francesco Cagliotti and others, eds., *Ad Alessandro Conti (1949-1994)* (Pisa: Scuola Normale Superiore, 1996), 22-35; Zambrano and Nelson, *Filippino Lippi*, 26 and n. 26, 338-340.

⁷¹ Ferretti, "Percorso lucchese", 1036-1040. See also Borelli, *Nel segno di Fra Bartolomeo*; Baracchini and others, "Pittori a Lucca tra '400 e '500"; Tazartes, "La pittura a Pisa e a Lucca nel Cinquecento".

⁷² The decoration was realized for the prior of San Frediano, Pasquino Cenami. Tazartes, "Aspertini da Bologna a Lucca"; Marzia Faietti and Daniela Scaglietti Kelescian, *Amico Aspertini* (Modena: Artioli Editore, 1995), 39-43 and n. 24, 141-153. In Lucca, Aspertini realized other two paintings. The fresco showing *The Virgin and Child with Saints* was painted in 1507-1508 on the counter-façade of the Church of San Frediano. Tazartes, "Committenza popolare in San Frediano di Lucca", 114-115; Tazartes, "Aspertini da Bologna a Lucca", 33. Faietti and Scaglietti Kelescian, *Amico Aspertini*, 39-43 and n. 22, 138-140. Another *Sacra Conversazione*, painted for the Church of San Cristoforo in 1515-1520, is now in the National Museo of Villa Guinigi in Lucca. Licia Bertolini Campetti and Silvia Meloni Trkulja, eds., *Museo di Villa Guinigi, Lucca. La villa e le collezioni* (Lucca: Nuova Grafica Lucchese, 1968), n. 37, 174-176; Tazartes, "Aspertini da Bologna a Lucca", 33; Faietti and Scaglietti Kelescian, *Amico Aspertini*, 39-43 and n. 29, 156-158; Daniela Scaglietti Kelescian, "Madonna col Bambino in gloria e i santi Giorgio, Giuseppe, Giovanni Evangelista e Sebastiano", in Andrea Emiliani and Daniela Scaglietti Kelescian, eds., *Amico Aspertini 1474-1552, artista bizzarro nell'età di Dürer e Raffaello*. Catalogo della mostra (Bologna, Pinacoteca Nazionale, 27 settembre 2008 – 11 gennaio 2009) (Cinisello Balsamo, Milano: Silvana Editoriale, 2008), n. 37, 158-159.

as did the Proto-Classic language of Francesco Francia, which had an important manifestation, still in the Church of San Frediano, in the *Saint Anne* altarpiece (1511-1513).⁷³ However, the deepest impact on Lucca artistic expressions was related to the presence in the town of three paintings by Fra Bartolomeo: the *Holy Father between St. Mary Magdalen and St. Catherine from Siena* (1509, fig. 1), the *Madonna del Santuario* (1509, fig. 2), and the *Madonna della Misericordia* (1515, fig. 3). These conditioned the artistic city context for nearly a century.⁷⁴

Indeed, the artistic production in sixteenth-century Lucca has been described as “in the name of Fra Bartolomeo”⁷⁵ for the prevalent influence of the Florentine artist on local painting. In order to understand the implications of the impact of Fra Bartolomeo’s works in the town, it is essential to analyse the circumstances of realization and the essentials features of the three paintings by the artist in Lucca. This analysis aims to highlight the cultural framework of these commissions, thus clarifying their long-recognized importance in the city context. In this regard, it is possible to recall that the relationship between Fra Bartolomeo and Lucca is associated with the role of intermediate of Sante Pagnini, who has already been introduced as one of the major representatives of the

⁷³ Tazartes, “Artisti e committenti ai primi del Cinquecento”. The Saint Anne Altarpiece by Francesco Francia is now at the National Gallery, London. Christopher Baker and Tom Henry, *The National Gallery. Complete Illustrated Catalogue* (London: National Gallery Company, 2001), n. 179 and 180, 229-230. In the Church of San Frediano, Francesco Francia painted also the altarpiece with the *Conception of the Virgin* - now in the Trenta Chapel - for the noblewoman Maddalena Stiatia. Tazartes, “Artisti e committenti ai primi del Cinquecento”, 8-10.

⁷⁴ The three paintings are at the National Museum of Villa Giunigi in Lucca. Bertolini Campetti and Meloni Trkulja, Museo di Villa Guinigi, n. 88 and 81, 171-174. On the recent restoration of the paintings see Claudio Gulli and others, *I dipinti di Fra’ Bartolomeo nel Museo Nazionale di Villa Guinigi. Storia e restauro* (Lucca: San Marco Tipografia, 2015).

⁷⁵ The expression is a translation of the title of Borelli’s book, “*Nel segno di Fra Bartolomeo*”.

religious politics of San Marco convent at the beginning of the 16th century.⁷⁶

The centrality of Sante Pagnini in the Florentine Congregation was determined also by his key contribution to the cultural politics of San Marco, which frequently expressed reconciliation with the traditional powers in material and visual manifestations.⁷⁷ In 1508, in order to raise money for the construction of new spaces in San Marco convent, Pagnini sold back to cardinal Giovanni de' Medici his family library, which had been housed at San Marco after the expulsion of Piero. Soon after this, he highlighted the alliance with the Medici placing the arms of the Family on the walls of the new dormitory of the convent.⁷⁸ Personal artistic interests fostered Pagnini's activity in the cultural politics of San Marco Congregation.

The tradition of Pagnini's concern for visual arts has its origins in Vasari's account, according to which he was responsible for Fra Bartolomeo's restart of painting, after the interruption of his activity due

⁷⁶ See chapter 1.1.

⁷⁷ Hence, the process of reconciliation with the civic powers of Florence found an eloquent symbol, in 1509, in the restitution to San Marco Convent of its great bell, the *Piagnona*, which the Republican government of the town had taken down from its tower in 1498. For its part, the Congregation of San Marco gave as a gift to the lifetime *Gonfaloniere* of the Florentine Republic, Pier Soderini, two works by Fra' Bartolomeo, who was later responsible for the painting in the *Sala del Gran Consiglio*, the council chamber. Still during his Roman sojourn, in 1513, the artist was assigned to paint the 'papal' Saints Peter and Paul for the Church of San Silvestro al Quirinale. C. Chris Fischer, *Fra Bartolommeo. Master Draughtsman of the High Renaissance. A selection from the Rotterdam Albums and Landscape Drawings from various Collections*, (Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-Van Beuningen, 16 December 1990-17 February 1991) (Amsterdam: Michael Hoyle, 1990), 187-189 and 292-293; Polizzotto, *The Elect Nation*;

Piero Scapecci, "Bartolomeo frate e pittore nella Congregazione di San Marco", in Serena Padovani (ed.), *L'età di Savonarola. Fra' Bartolomeo e la Scuola di San Marco* (Venezia: Marsilio Editori, 1996), 19-27; Assonitis, *Art and Savonarolism*.

⁷⁸ Scapecci, "Bartolomeo frate e pittore"; Assonitis, *Art and Savonarolism*, 131-137.

to his religious crisis.⁷⁹ In the 19th century, Vincenzo Marchese compared the friendship between Fra Bartolomeo and Sante Pagnini to the relationship that, in the previous century, had tied Beato Angelico and St. Antoninus.⁸⁰ In fact, Vasari's account has been used as the starting point for interpretations of Pagnini as being the protector and main supporter of Fra Bartolomeo. It has also been used as a starting point for examining the iconographic content of some of the artists' paintings.⁸¹

⁷⁹ « *Stavasi fra' Bartolomeo in convento, non attendendo ad altro che agli uffici divini et alle cose della Regola, ancora che pregato molto dal priore e dagli amici suoi più cari che e' facesse qualche cosa di pittura; et era già passato il termine di quattro anni che egli non aveva voluto lavorar nulla: ma stretto poi da Bernardo del Bianco amico suo e del priore, infine cominciò a olio nella Badia di Fiorenza una tavola di San Bernardo che scrive, e nel vedere la Nostra Donna, portata col Putto in braccio da molti Angeli e putti da lui coloriti pulitamente, sta tanto contemplativo, che bene si conosce in lui un non so che di celeste che resplende in quella opera a chi la considera attentamente, dove molta diligenza et amor pose, insieme con uno arco lavorato a fresco che vi è sopra* ». Giorgio Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti architetti, pittori, et scultori italiani, da Cimabue, insino a' tempi nostri*. Nell'edizione per i tipi di Lorenzo Torrentino, Firenze 1550, edited by Luciano Bellosi and Aldo Rossi (Torino: Giulio Einaudi editore, 1991), vol. II, 580-581. According to Vasari's account, Pagnini seems to have had a role in the commission of the painting for Bernardo del Bianco, who, in the 1550 edition of the *Lives*, is described as a friend of the painter and of the prior of San Marco (that is Pagnini himself). This indication of the friendship between Bernardo Del Bianco and Sante Pagnini does not appear in the 1568 edition. See Giorgio Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori e architettori nelle redazioni del 1550 e 1568*, edited by Rosanna Bettarini and Paola Barocchi (Firenze: Sansoni, 1976), vol. IV, 93-94. For a discussion of the role of Pagnini in the commission of Bernardo del Bianco see, in particular, Assonitis, *Art and Savonarolism*, 128-146.

⁸⁰ Almost as a proof of this friendship, Marchese suggested that the older pilgrim, in the lunette by Fra Bartolomeo showing *The Meeting of Christ and the Pilgrims at Emmaus*, in San Marco Convent, was a portrait of Pagnini himself. Vincenzo Marchese, *Memorie dei più insigni pittori, scultori e architetti domenicani* (Bologna: 1879), vol. II, 35-36, 48. See also Fischer, *Fra Bartolommeo*, 106-107 and 141.

⁸¹ See, for example, Fischer, *Fra Bartolommeo*, 106-107. On the reception of Vasari's life of Fra Bartolomeo, see Ronald M. Steinberg, *Fra Girolamo Savonarola, Florentine Art and Renaissance Historiography* (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1977), 32-38.

The link between Pagnini and Renaissance art was further established by Edgar Wind, who suggested the hypothesis that Pagnini's literary work might have inspired the iconography of the Sistine Ceiling.⁸² Apart from the literary tradition, Pagnini had certainly an interest for visual arts that found expression in several initiatives. In 1495, he was appointed as *praefectus operum* of his Congregation. In 1506, during his priorship, the works at the novitiate of San Marco were begun. Soon afterwards, he decided to rebuild the Church of San Marco, according to the projects of Baccio d'Agnolo, which are preserved in a wooden model.⁸³ In Lucca, he intervened in the construction of the convent of San Domenico, which had been commissioned to Francesco Marti: Pagnini succeeded in giving the commission to Simone del Pollaiuolo, known as "*il Cronaca*", whom Savonarola had chosen as the architect of the *Sala del Gran Consiglio*.⁸⁴ Moreover, Pagnini was certainly bound by personal friendship with Fra Bartolomeo and was involved in some of his artistic commissions.⁸⁵ He was the tester in the contract according to which Fra Bartolomeo's brother, Piero, was assigned to Mariotto Albertinelli.⁸⁶ As the prior of San Marco, Pagnini appeared in the contract of the painting for Bernardo del Bianco;⁸⁷ and he was responsible for giving as a gift to

⁸² Wind, "Sante Pagnini and Michelangelo". Wind's hypothesis has not been followed up by any other scholar. Frederick Hart replied to Wind in "Pagnini, Vigerio, and the Sistine Ceiling: a reply", *The Art Bulletin*, December 1951, vol. XXXIII, n. 4, 262-273. The question was dismissed in Romeo De Maio, *Michelangelo e la Controriforma* (Bari: Editori Laterza, 1978), 416 and 436, note 40.

⁸³ The model is in the museum of San Marco.

⁸⁴ Assonitis, *Art and Savonarolism*, 131-137. On the events related to the construction of the convent of San Domenico in Lucca see also Borelli, "*Nel segno di Fra Bartolomeo*", 8.

⁸⁵ Scapechi, "Bartolomeo frate e pittore"; Assonitis, *Art and Savonarolism*, 131-139.

⁸⁶ The contract was signed from 1st January 1505 and was to last until 5th January 1512. Marchese, "Documenti per servire alle memorie degli artisti domenicani", in *Memorie dei più insigni pittori, scultori e architetti domenicani*, vol. II, 589-594.

⁸⁷ The contract between Fra Bartolomeo and Bernardo del Bianco was signed on November 18th, 1504. Marchese, "Documenti per servire alle memorie degli

Zanobi Gaddi, in 1505, a small painting by the artist.⁸⁸ As previously mentioned, the name of Pagnini is then related to the history of Fra Bartolomeo's paintings in Lucca.

The great altarpiece showing *The Holy Father, St. Mary Magdalen and St. Catherine from Siena* (fig. 1) was commissioned to Fra Bartolomeo during the trip of the artist to Venice in 1508,⁸⁹ for the Dominican convent of St. Peter Martyr on Murano. It is not clear why the Venice convent refused the work after it was completed, in 1509. In 1513, it was still in the convent of San Marco in Florence, where it was painted. Soon afterwards, Fra Bartolomeo gave the painting as gift to Sante Pagnini, who collocated it in a chapel of the convent of San Romano in Lucca.⁹⁰ The original representation shows God the Father - in the blessing position, holding a book with the apocalyptic letters and being surrounded by angels with garlands of white and red roses and a rosary - at the top of the composition. Below two female saints are floating on clouds. St. Catherine from Siena - with the Dominican black and white garments of Penance, the book and the lily- looks up towards God the

artisti domenicani", in *Memorie dei più insigni pittori, scultori e architetti domenicani*, vol. II, 594-595.

⁸⁸ Scapecchi, "Bartolomeo frate e pittore", 21. On the painting, see the catalogue entries by Everett Fahy, in Padovani, *L'età di Savonarola*, n. 17 and 17a, 84-88.

⁸⁹ On the Venice sojourn of Fra Bartolomeo, see Peter Humfrey, "Fra Bartolomeo, Venice and St. Catherine of Siena", *The Burlington Magazine*, vol. CXXXII, n. 1048 (July 1990), 476-483. See also Fischer, *Fra Bartolommeo*, 156-169.

⁹⁰ It remained in the convent of San Romano until 1874, when it joined the collection of the National Museum of Villa Guinigi in Lucca (inv. 88). On the history of the painting see Humfrey, "Fra Bartolomeo, Venice and St Catherine of Siena" and Fischer, *Fra Bartolommeo*, 156-159. See also Wind, "Sante Pagnini and Michelangelo", 234; Ronald M. Steinberg, "Fra Bartolomeo, Savonarola and a Divine Image", *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, 18. Bd., H. 3 (1974), 319-328; Scapecchi, "Bartolomeo frate e pittore", 21-22; Assonitis, *Art and Savonarolism*, 157-167; Antonia d'Aniello, "Fra Bartolomeo", in Alessandra Giannotti and Claudio Pizzorusso, eds., *Puro, semplice e naturale nell'arte a Firenze tra Cinque e Seicento*. Catalogo della mostra (Firenze, Galleria degli Uffizi, 17 giugno - 2 novembre 2014) (Firenze: Giunti Editore, 2014), n. 8, 150-151.

Father in a mystical contemplation. In a symmetrical position, St. Mary Magdalen looks down carrying the jar of ointment. In the background, a natural landscape frames the representation. The triangle-shaped structure is complicated by the correspondence of gazes bounding God the Father with St. Catherine, whereas St. Mary Magdalen is assorted in meditation. The image is completed by inscriptions around the three main figures,⁹¹ which, according to Ronald Steinberg and Peter Humfrey, allow for a Savonarolan analysis of the painting⁹². In Humfrey's interperation: "we are presented with the image of a saint [St. Catherine of Siena] with exceptional mystical gifts, accompanied by her spiritual mentor [St. Mary Magdalen], in the act of experiencing the vision of God."⁹³ The picture involves the observer in this mystical appearance, through the opening of the real space of the chapel to the painted space of the apparition.⁹⁴ The illusionistic atmosphere, as well as

⁹¹ An inscription contained in the banderole held by an angel below the figure of God declares: "Divinus amor extasim facit", which comes from Dionysius the Areopagite. To the right of St. Mary Magdalen, an inscription in gold letters reads: "Nostra conversatio in coelis est", which is from St. Paul's *Epistles to the Philippians*. To the left of St. Catherine from Siena another inscription in gold letters reads: "Amor langueo", from the *Song of Songs*.

⁹² Steinberg interpreted the iconography as being directly inspired to Savonarola's preaching, whereas Humfrey pointed out, as a literary source for the iconographic content, the official biography of St. Catherine from Siena by Raimond of Capua, that is to say the *Legenda Maior*. Steinberg, "Fra Bartolomeo, Savonarola and a Divine Image"; Steinberg, *Fra Girolamo Savonarola*, 86-94; Humfrey, "Fra Bartolomeo, Venice and St. Catherine of Siena". Humfrey's interpetaion is recalled by Fischer, *Fra Bartolommeo*, 156-169. Edgar Wind, recalled by Steinberg and Humfrey, interpreted the two female saints as representations of the "Active" and "Contemplative" Life, according to their traditional allegorical readings. Wind, "Sante Pagnini and Michelangelo", 234. Among the other original iconographical analysis of the painting, see Maria Cali, *Da Michelangelo all'Escorial. Momenti del dibattito religioso nell'arte del Cinquecento* (Torino: Giulio Einaudi editore, 1980), 52-65; Assonitis, *Art and Savonarolism*, 157-167.

⁹³ Humfrey, "Fra Bartolomeo, Venice and St. Catherine of Siena", 481.

⁹⁴ The illusionistic spatial construction of the painting has been analyzed by Christian K. Kleinbub, *Vision and the Visionary in Raphael* (University Park, PA:

the plastic construction of the figures and the naturalistic character of the landscape, explains the modernity of the work and the impact it could have had in Lucca context when Pagnini brought it there. It is important to observe that the history of the altarpiece is closely related to the publication of the letters of St. Catherine from Siena, which was begun at San Marco convent at the end of the 15th century and was then completed in 1500 by Aldo Manuzio in Venice.⁹⁵ The altarpiece was painted for the same convent where the publication of the letters was carried out – on initiative of the prior Bartolomeo d’Alzano, who commissioned the painting– and was partly paid through the sale of copies of the letters.⁹⁶ Hence, the work can be defined as an expression of the wide-ranging cultural interests and networks of the convent of San Marco, which through the mediation of Pagnini also indirectly involved the convent of San Romano in Lucca.⁹⁷

The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2011), 25-32. See generally on the topic John K. G. Shearman, *Only connect ...Art and the Spectator in the Italian Renaissance* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1992).

⁹⁵ On the publication of the letters of St. Catherine from Siena, see Henry D. Saffrey, “Les images populaires de Saints Dominicains à Venise au XVe siècle et l’édition par Alde Manunce des « Epistole » de Sainte Catherine de Sienne”, *Italia Medioevale e Umanistica*, XXV (1982), 241-312; Carlo Dionisotti, *Aldo Manuzio. Umanista e editore* (Milano: Edizioni il Polifilo, 1995); Massimo Zaggia, “Varia fortuna editoriale delle Lettere di Caterina da Siena”, in Lino Leonardi and Pietro Trifone, eds., *Dire l’ineffabile. Caterina da Siena e il linguaggio della mistica. Atti del Convegno (Siena, 13-14 novembre 2003)* (Firenze: Edizioni del Galluzzo per la Fondazione Ezio Franceschini, 2006), 127-187.

⁹⁶ Humfrey, “Fra Bartolomeo, Venice and St. Catherine of Siena”.

⁹⁷ In particular, on the relationships between San Marco convent and Venice context, see Alessio Assonitis, “Eredità cateriniana negli ambienti piagnoni a Roma nel primo Cinquecento”, in Alessandra Bartolomei Romagnoli and others, eds., *‘Virgo digna coelo’. Caterina e la sua eredità. Raccolta di studi in occasione del 550° anniversario della canonizzazione di santa Caterina da Siena (1461-2011)* (Città del Vaticano: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2013), 461-463. On the cultural collaborations of San Marco convent, see Assonitis, *Art and Savonarolism*; Alessio Assonitis, “Fra Bartolomeo della Porta: Patronage and Clientelism at San Marco in the Early Cinquecento”, *Memorie domenicane*, n.s., n. 42 (2011), 433-447.

In 1509, another painting by Fra Bartolomeo appeared in Lucca, still under the possible initiative of Pagnini.⁹⁸ *The Madonna and Child between St. Stephen and St. John the Baptist* (fig. 2) was painted for the Chapel of St. Stephen in the cathedral of San Martino.⁹⁹ The painting shows the same formal monumentalizing of the figures and simplification of the composition on a triangular scheme, with the illusionistic opening of the real space of the chapel on a naturalistic landscape.¹⁰⁰ The absence of the throne has been interpreted as a Savonarolan image of the Virgin that was aimed at exalting the humility of the Church's origins, as seems to be confirmed by the representation of the first martyrs of Christian religion by the side.¹⁰¹ Nevertheless, the presence of the painting in the Cathedral of Lucca shows the opening of "San Marco School"¹⁰² to

⁹⁸ Under the possible initiative of Pagnini, a preliminary inspiration to Fra Bartolomeo's painting found expression, in San Romano convent, in a fresco of Christ the Judge coming from the *Last Judgment* by the Florentine painter in Santa Maria Nova. Borelli, *Nel segno di Fra Bartolomeo*, 9-10 and 52-53.

⁹⁹ The payments to the *operaio* of the Cathedral Alessandro Diodati are dated 1509. Anyway, the painting was likely commissioned few years before as part of the contemporary works of renovation of Lucca cathedral, which included the contract for the realization of the altars and the decoration of the *Biblioteca Capitolare*. It was originally placed in the chapel of St. Stephen. In the second half of the 16th century, during the renovation of the altars, it was moved to the so-called "*Cappella del Santuario*", and, from the new collocation, it took the name of *Madonna del Santuario*. Since the conclusion of the last restoration, in 2015, it has been collocated in the National Museum of Villa Guinigi in Lucca. See Enrico Ridolfi, *L'arte in Lucca studiata nella sua Cattedrale* (Lucca: Canovetti, 1882), 177-211; Giuseppe Ghilarducci, "Il vescovo Felino Sandei e la Biblioteca Capitolare di Lucca", *Actum Luce. Rivista di studi lucchesi*, anno 1, n. 2 (ottobre 1972), 159-183; Borelli, *Nel segno di Fra Bartolomeo*, 7-16; Chris Fischer, "Madonna col Bambino fra i santi Giovanni Battista e Stefano", in Padovani, *L'età di Savonarola*, n. 19, 93-94.

¹⁰⁰ Wind, "Sante Pagnini and Michelangelo", 234-235; Chris Fischer, "Madonna col Bambino fra i santi Giovanni Battista e Stefano".

¹⁰¹ Borelli, *Nel segno di Fra Bartolomeo*, 14; Adorni Braccesi, "Il convento di San Romano di Lucca", 192-193.

¹⁰² On the "San Marco School of Art", see in particular Steinberg, *Fra Girolamo Savonarola*, 8-18; Padovani, *L'età di Savonarola*.

various collaborations in the years that followed Savonarola's death, as well as the participation of Lucca in this cultural politics of association with different political and cultural actors.

In 1515, Fra Bartolomeo painted another altarpiece for the town Lucca. The *Madonna della Misericordia* (fig. 3) was commissioned by San Romano friar Sebastiano Montecatini for his family chapel, once again under the likely mediation of Pagnini, who at that time was the prior of San Romano.¹⁰³ At the top of the image, Christ is depicted with outstretched arms. In front of his body is a plaque reading "MISEREROR SUPER TURBAM", which comes from the gospel according to St. Matthew. On the dado below the Virgin there is the inscription "MATER MISERICORDIAE", which refers to the iconography of the Virgin offering Her protection to the community of the surrounding town. Despite the monumental and balanced style, a multiplication of figures substitutes the simplified structure of the previous paintings, and energy, expressiveness and movement contribute to make the representation emphatic.¹⁰⁴ This latter is in turn an inedited image, which Steinberg interpreted as being directly inspired to Savonarola's sermons on the apocalyptic coming of a new era.¹⁰⁵

The influence of these pictures on Lucca painting was determined by their role of iconographic and stylistic models for the local artistic production until the second half of the 16th century. The image of the Virgin in Lucca Cathedral represented the prototype for a number of

¹⁰³ Sebastiano Lombardi Montecatini was from one of the most powerful families of Lucca. He is recognizable in the painting as the men kneeling at the right under the protection of St. Dominic. The paintings carries his initials and family arms. Steinberg, *Fra Girolamo Savonarola*, 82-85; Fischer, *Fra Bartolommeo*, 300; Assonitis, *Art and Savonarolism*, 182-183.

¹⁰⁴ On the expressive style of the painting, influenced by the Roman sojourn of the artist, see Fischer, *Fra Bartolommeo*, 292-293 and 298-300. See also Wind, "Sante Pagnini and Michelangelo", 234-235 and Calì, *Da Michelangelo all'Escorial*, 58.

¹⁰⁵ Steinberg, *Fra Girolamo Savonarola*, 82-85. The inspiration to Savonarola is made explicit by the presence, in the painting, of Savonarola's portrait. See also Assonitis, *Art and Savonarolism*, 182-183.

Sacre Conversazioni, which, in re-elaborating the monumental and naturalistic style of the original in a local language, combine iconographic elements taken from the two other paintings by Fra Bartolomeo in the town (God the Father, inscriptions, apocalyptic atmosphere). The numerous altarpieces of Agostino Marti and Zacchia il Vecchio are the most eloquent examples of this first “Dominican moment”.¹⁰⁶ The development of local artistic culture toward a figurative language that had its models in the painting of the first half of the 16th century seems to have affected the penetration of Mannerist art in Lucca. Studies of local artistic production – from the analysis of Massimo Ferretti to the readings of Ernesto Borelli, Roberto Paolo Ciardi, Roberto Contini and Maurizia Tazartes¹⁰⁷ – have underlined how the *Immaculate Conception* painted by Giorgio Vasari for the Church of St. Pier Cigoli (1543, fig. 4 a, b and c) did not radically influenced the artistic context of the Republic.¹⁰⁸ In the same way, the activity of native and foreigners Mannerist artists like Zacchia il Vecchio¹⁰⁹, Alessandro Ardeni¹¹⁰ and

¹⁰⁶ Borelli, *Nel segno di Fra Bartolomeo*.

¹⁰⁷ Ferretti, “Percorso lucchese”; Borelli, *Nel segno di Fra Bartolomeo*; Ciardi, “Lucca a Roma vs Lucca e Roma”; Contini, “La pittura del Seicento a Pisa, Lucca, nella fascia costiera e nella Toscana settentrionale”; Tazartes, “La pittura a Pisa e a Lucca nel Cinquecento”.

¹⁰⁸ The painting, realized for the Lucchese Biagio Mei, is now in the National Museum of Villa Guinigi. Bertolini Campetti and Meloni Trkulja, Museo di Villa Guinigi, n. 27, 29, 30, 206-207. Borelli highlights the influence of Vasari’s painting on Lucca artistic production in the second half of the century, although he interprets the work as an expression of “Counter-Reformation art”. Borelli, *Nel segno di Fra Bartolomeo*, 26-27.

¹⁰⁹ On Zacchia il Vecchio, see John Pope-Hennessy, “Zacchia il Vecchio and Lorenzo Zacchia”, *The Burlington Magazine*, vol. LXXII, n. 422 (May 1938), 213-223; Borelli, *Nel segno di Fra Bartolomeo*, *ad ind*; Concioni and others, *I Pittori Rinascimentali a Lucca*, *ad. ind*.

¹¹⁰ In Lucca, Alessandro Ardeni painted the following altarpieces: a *Nativity* (1539), in the Church of Antraccoli; a *Sacra Conversazione* (1565), in the Church of St. Paolino; a *Mater Misericordiae* with Saints (1565), in the Church of St. Salvatore; an *Assumption* (1567), in the Church of Sesto; a *Sacra Conversazione* (1568), in the Church of St. Anastasio. Borelli, *Nel segno di Fra Bartolomeo*;

Battista Franco¹¹¹ did not produce the development of a “local Mannerism” with specific features. This “anti-Mannerist diffidence”¹¹² would directly lead, in the second-half of the Cinquecento, to a Counter-Reformation art that had its major expressions in the decoration of the Chapel of the Palace of the *Anziani* (1559-1560), including paintings on the *Life of the Virgin* by Bartolomeo Neroni and Girolamo Massei. It was also expressed in the renovation of the altars of Lucca Cathedral, which was commissioned by Bishop Alessandro I Guidiccioni¹¹³ to an équipe of foreign artists, including Giorgio Vasari, Alessandro Allori, Federico Zuccari, Passignano, Jacopo Ligozzi and Tintoretto.¹¹⁴

Tazartes, “La pittura a Pisa e a Lucca nel Cinquecento”. On the activity of Alessandro Ardentì in Lucca see also Isa Belli Barsali, *ad vocem* “ARDENTI, Alessandro”, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Roma: Istituto dell’Enciclopedia italiana, 1962), vol. 4, 18-19.

¹¹¹ In Lucca, Battista Franco painted a *Pietà*, today in the National Museum of Villa Guinigi. Antonella Sacconi, *ad vocem* “FRANCO, Battista, detto il Samolei”, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Roma: Istituto dell’Enciclopedia italiana, 1998), vol. 50, 176-180; Fabrizio Biferali and Massimo Firpo, Battista Franco «*pittore viniziano*» *nella cultura artistica e nella vita religiosa del ‘500* (Pisa: Edizioni della Normale, 2007), 84-89.

¹¹² The definition is by Ciardi, “Lucca a Roma vs Lucca e Roma”, 27. On the difficult penetration of Mannerist art in Lucca see also Ferretti, “Percorso lucchese”, 1062-1065; Borelli, *Nel segno di Fra Bartolomeo*, 16-50; Contini, “La pittura del Seicento a Pisa, Lucca, nella fascia costiera e nella Toscana settentrionale”; Tazartes, “La pittura a Pisa e a Lucca nel Cinquecento”.

¹¹³ On the artistic patronage of Alessandro Guidiccioni (1524-1600) see also chapter 2.2.

¹¹⁴ On the decoration of the Chapel in the Palace of the *Anziani*, see Ernesto Borelli, “I dipinti del ‘500”, in Isa Belli Barsali, ed., *Il Palazzo Pubblico di Lucca. Architetture. Opere d’arte. Destinazioni. Atti del convegno* (Lucca, 27-28 ottobre 1979) (Lucca: Maria Pacini Fazzi Editore, 1980), 67-75; Borelli, *Nel segno di Fra Bartolomeo*, 27-50; Tazartes, “La pittura a Pisa e a Lucca nel Cinquecento”, 330-331. On the decoration of the altars of Lucca Cathedral, see Ciardi, “Lucca a Roma vs Lucca e Roma”; on the comparison between this decoration and other contemporary cycles realized by artists of different “Schools of Painting”, see Stefano Pierguidi, *Non vuole che si introducano tavole forestiere. Il confronto fra artisti forestieri e scuole pittoriche nelle pale d’altare della seconda metà del*

In conclusion, the centrality of the experience of Fra Bartolomeo's painting in Lucca was determined by the introduction of a figurative language – as well as of original iconographies directly and indirectly inspired to Savonarola's sermons – that definitely shaped the artistic production of the town.¹¹⁵ The success of Fra Bartolomeo's works in Lucca has been interpreted as the consequence, and the expression, of the original "Savonarolan" background of the town.¹¹⁶ On the other hand, the opening of San Marco convent to diversified collaborations, inside and outside the Tosco-Roman Congregation, leads to question the importance of Fra Bartolomeo's painting in Lucca from a different perspective. Specifically, this artistic experience can be considered a manifestation of the extensive penetration of San Marco cultural interests in Lucca's framework. The contribution of Lucca to San Marco cultural politics closely depended on the personality of Sante Pagnini

Cinquecento", *RolSA*, n. 10 (2008), 129-145. On this important artistic decoration see also chapter 2.1. In the studies of Lucca artistic production, the definition of "Counter-Reformation art" is mainly based on the chronological correspondence between the artistic expressions and the action of repression of the heresy that characterized the town in the second half of the 16th century. This correspondence is particularly evident in the artistic patronage of representatives of the politics of Counter-Reformation, as the bishop Alessandro I Guidiccioni (1524-1600). For a framework of the different interpretations of Counter-Reformation art, see Calì, *Da Michelangelo all'Escorial*, 3-48. The analysis of Lucca art does not generally refer to those readings looking at the existence of an ideal link between Savonarolan culture and the cultural phenomena of Counter-Reformation. On the interpretation of Savonarola as an essential introduction to Counter-Reformation art, see in particular Federico Zeri, *Pittura e Controriforma. L'arte senza tempo di Scipione Pulzone da Gaeta* (Torino: Giulio Einaudi editore, 1957), 28; Calì, *Da Michelangelo all'Escorial*, 49-65.

¹¹⁵ It is important to recall that Fra Bartolomeo worked, in Lucca, also for Tommaso Spada and Giovanni Bernardini, who, as Sebastiano Montecatini, were representatives of the oligarchy of the town. Scapecchi, "Bartolomeo frate e pittore", 22; Alessio Assonitis, "Fra Bartolomeo della Porta: Patronage and Clientelism at San Marco in the Early Cinquecento", *Memorie domenicane*, n. 42 (2011), 435-436.

¹¹⁶ For this interpretation, see Borelli, *Nel segno di Fra Bartolomeo*, 7-50; Scapecchi, "Bartolomeo frate e pittore", 21-22.

and on its relevant role in both the context of the Lucchese Republic and in the definition of the artistic politics of the Congregation of San Marco. In conclusion, the success of Fra Bartolomeo's painting in Lucca can be interpreted as an example of artistic patronage that highlights the participation of the Lucchese context into an extensive and wide-connected cultural politics. Despite its specific character, the network of political, religious and artistic interests that characterizes the experience of Fra Bartolomeo's painting in Lucca represents a significant premise to the analysis of the artistic patronage in the town in the mid-sixteenth century.

1.2.2 The "Problem" of Artistic Patronage

The years between the "Dominican phase" and the development of "Counter-Reformation" art in Lucca seem to be characterized by the absence of relevant artistic commissions.¹¹⁷ These central years of the century also correspond to the moment of the most intense diffusion of heterodox religious ideas in the town. The coincidence of these artistic and religious phenomena has encouraged interpretations questioning the role of Protestant religion as a possible cause for the lack of artistic interests by the families of nobles-merchants ruling the city.¹¹⁸ Because of the denial of any external manifestation of worship, Protestant religion might have extended to art a tendency of Lucca aristocracy: a disregard for culture as a direct consequence of the prevailing of

¹¹⁷ Maurizia Tazartes, "Immagini negli oratori e nelle confraternite lucchesi del '500", in *Città italiane del '500 tra Riforma e Controriforma*, 181-204; Ciardi, "Lucca a Roma vs Lucca e Roma", 24.

¹¹⁸ Maurizia Tazartes and Roberto Paolo Ciardi both question the influence of Protestant religion on the reduction of the artistic production, although they attribute the main responsibilities of the decrease of the artistic commissions to reasons other than religion. *Ibid.*

commercial interests.¹¹⁹ The problematic relationship between the religious crisis and the artistic manifestations leads to interrogate about the existence of a “question of images” in 16th-century Lucca. This refers on the effective dependency of the artistic production (or lack thereof) on the religious ideas of reformation of the Church.¹²⁰ This dependence is supported by the predominant influence of artistic expressions certainly inspired by Savonarola’s imagery in the years immediately preceding.

A first element worth noticing is the long-lasting vitality of the idea of the negative impact that the commercial vocation of the Republic would have produced on cultural expressions. According to a notion diffused among 16th-century Lucca citizens, the depending of the Republic from trade was simultaneously considered as the actual source of wealth and the origin of the many problems of the town. As already seen, this interpretation was at the basis of the reflection on Protestant religion as an infection caused by commercial exchanges, threatening social stability and political independence.¹²¹ This idea led to consider the attention for trade as being predominant on any other interest, especially on culture. Giovanni Guidiccioni, reflecting on the social tensions of the Republic, blamed Lucca aristocracy, which he depicted as “mean”, “pretentious” and without any interest for “letters”.¹²² In this regard, modern

¹¹⁹ Ciardi, “Lucca a Roma vs Lucca e Roma”, 24. Simonetta Adorni Braccesi, “Mecenatismo e propaganda religiosa dei mercanti lucchesi tra Ginevra, Lione e l’Italia”, in Susanna Peyronel, ed., *Frontiere geografiche e religiose in Italia. Fattori di conflitto e comunicazione nel XVI e XVII secolo. Atti del XXXIII Convegno di studi sulla Riforma e i movimenti religiosi in Italia* (Torre Pellice, 29-31 agosto 1993), *Bollettino della Società di Studi Valdesi*, n. 177 (1995), 27.

¹²⁰ Massimo Firpo and Fabrizio Biferali, *Immagini ed eresie nell’Italia del Cinquecento* (Bari: Editori Laterza, 2016), 61-67.

¹²¹ See chapter 1.1.

¹²² « Ma chi ha resa nella nostra repubblica poco prezzata questa generazione d’uomini litterati? L’avarizia. Chi la renderà ogni dì meno? la medesima. Chi sgomenterà e rievocherà gli altri dalla via delli studi? L’avarizia. Chi manderà finalmente in esilio l’uso delle discipline? L’avarizia. Niuno di voi conosce esser quasi notato d’infamia quel nobile, il quale, per seguitar gli studi, non vuole applicarsi alla mercatanzia. I ricchi solamente sono in eccellenza d’onore, e l’onore è nutrimento delle arti; ma come dalla

interpretations recall a cliché, extending it to the artistic manifestations. Hence, two questions seem to be essential to the definition of the problem of artistic patronage in its connection with the religious crisis: the reliability of the disregard for culture by Lucca aristocracy and the entity of the reduction of the artistic commissions in the years corresponding to the largest spreading of heterodox ideas in the town.

Concerning the first problem, the literary image of the Lucca aristocracy is contradictory and ambivalent. The representation of the class of government of the city actually swings between its lack of interest for culture and the attention to cultural problems. Against the description of Giovanni Guidiccioni, the *Forciana quaestiones* by Ortensio Lando shows the image of a group of noble-merchants debating political and cultural issues: an intellectual elite that is occupied in analysing the ideal union of religious devotion, civic harmony and political independence.¹²³

diligenzia e dalla fortuna nascono nascono le ricchezze, così dalle ricchezze nasce la falsa felicità e la superbia, la quale è tanto odiosa a Dio, che non solamente è punita, come gli altri vizii, dalla divina pena, ma dalla indignazione ». Guidiccioni, *Orazione ai nobili di Lucca*, 138. For a complete analysis of Giovanni Guidiccioni's thought, see chapter 3. A similar negative description of Lucca aristocracy is in Sebastiano Monsagrati, *Oratio de studiis liberalium artium* (Lucca: Busdraghi, 1549). See Adorni Braccesi, "Mecenatismo e propaganda religiosa", 27.

¹²³ The *Forciana Quaestiones* illustrate the discussions on religious, social and political matters of a group of nobles and intellectuals from Lucca and Milan, including Giovanni Guidiccioni, Vincenzo Buonvisi, Martino Gigli, Annibale della Croce and Giulio Della Rovere. The debate is divided in three days and is set in the *villa* of the Buonvisi family in Forci, near Lucca. The work represents a significant expression of the 'Reformed' literature. It was first published in 1535 and 1536, in Lion and Venice, under the pseudonym of "*Philalethes Polytopiensis civis*", inspired to Thomas More's *Utopia*, which Ortensio Lando often used. Ortensio Lando, *Forciana Quaestiones, in quibus uaria Italorum ingenia explicantur, multaque alia scitu non indigna. Autore Philatethe Polytopiensis ciue*, Neapoli [i.e. Venezia]: excudebat Martinus de Ragusia [i.e. Melchiorre Sessa], 1536 (Neapoli [i.e. Venezia]: ex officina Martini de Ragusia [i.e. Melchiorre Sessa], 1536). See Adorni Braccesi, «Una città infetta», 53-77; Adorni Braccesi, "Mecenatismo e propaganda religiosa", 27-52; Simonetta Adorni Braccesi and Simone Ragagli, *ad vocem "LANDO, Ortensio"*, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Roma: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia italiana, 2004), vol. 63, 451-459.

Looking beyond literary tradition, paying attention to cultural problems (particularly educational issues) was an integral component of the interests of Lucca aristocracy.¹²⁴ As already noted, the support of the government was essential to assure the presence in the town of important representatives of the contemporary cultural scenario, such as the religious thinkers Aonio Paleario and Pietro Martire Vermigli in the role of public teachers.¹²⁵ The development of an “Erasmian” movement itself implied a concern for a humanistic interpretation of religious questions that confirms a deep attention to the contemporary intellectual debate.¹²⁶ In addition, the religious crisis in Lucca found an important form of expression in a large literary production by the class of nobles-merchants moving between the Republic and Northern Europe. These representatives of the Republic did not only directly participate in the elaboration of literary works; they were also involved in the promotion and sponsorship of books publication, as in the case of Pagnini’s Bible.¹²⁷ In consideration of these reflections, the idea of the prevailing of commercial on cultural interest seems to confirm its nature of cliché, offering a stereotyped image of the aristocracy of the Republic. Nevertheless, the case of the artistic production might represent an exception to this, directly connected as it is to the Protestant refusal of religious images. Indeed, the religious crisis might have favoured literary rather than visual manifestations.¹²⁸ The analysis of the problem is complicated by contradictory information.

¹²⁴ Simonetta Adorni Braccesi, “Maestri e scuole nella Repubblica di Lucca tra Riforma e Controriforma”, *Società e Storia*, 9, 2 (1986), 559-564. On the history of public teaching in Lucca, see Paolo Barsanti, *Il pubblico insegnamento a Lucca dal secolo XIV alla fine del secolo XVIII. Contributo alla storia della cultura nazionale* (Lucca: Marchi, 1905).

¹²⁵ See chapter 1.1.

¹²⁶ Adorni Braccesi, «Una città infetta», 53-77.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.* The literary patronage and the book publication of Lucchese merchants was consistent in Lion and Geneva. Adorni Braccesi, “Mecenatismo e propaganda religiosa”.

¹²⁸ On the opposition between texts and images in the Reformed thought, see Adriano Prosperi, “Teologi e pittura: la questione delle immagini nel

An actual decrease in the number of the works of art commissioned in the central years of the century has been observed in the case of the artistic patronage of Lucca confraternities and oratories.¹²⁹ Conversely, two elements seem to show the continuity of the patronage activity of the noble families of the town. From one hand, it is possible to recall the constant attention to the problem of family representation, which had its most significant expression in the construction of the family palace.¹³⁰ The erection of noble palaces was unceasing in the 16th century, and was complemented by the construction of *ville* in the countryside.¹³¹ In light of the possible influence of the religious thought on artistic expressions, the persistent presence of works of art in the inventories of the noble families of the town is even more significant. In fact, paintings and sculpture, especially depicting religious subjects, appear to be an inner component of the property of the families of nobles-merchants. It is likely that “images” were commonly present also in the house interiors of the less wealthy class.¹³² This wide spreading of visual

Cinquecento italiano”, in Giuliano Briganti, ed., *La pittura in Italia. Il Cinquecento* (Milano: Electa, 1988), vol. II, 581-592. See in particular 581-585.

¹²⁹ Maurizia Tazartes, “Immagini negli oratori e nelle confraternite lucchesi del ‘500”. Tazartes hypothesizes that the decrease of the artistic commissions of confraternities and oratories might have been mainly caused by economic problems. *Ibid.*, 204.

¹³⁰ Berengo, *Nobili e mercanti*, 32-33. Belli Barsali, *I palazzi dei mercanti*.

¹³¹ Belli Barsali, *I palazzi dei mercanti*. On the *ville* of Lucca, see Isa Belli Barsali and Enzo Crea, *Le ville lucchesi* (Roma: De Luca Editore, 1964); Isa Belli Barsali, “Catalogo della mostra delle ville lucchesi del ‘500 (Lucca, Palazzo Provinciale, 30 ottobre – 16 novembre 1975)”, *La provincia di Lucca*, Supplemento al n. 4, XV (1975); Isa Belli Barsali, *Ville e committenti dello Stato di Lucca* (Lucca: Maria Pacini Fazzi Editore, 1980); Maria Adriani Giusti, *Ville lucchesi. Le delizie della campagna* (Lucca: PubliEd Editore, 2015), in particular 51-82.

¹³² Emanuele Pellegrini, “Dentro le case di Lucca” (under publication), paper presented at the workshop *Pittori lucchesi del Seicento a Roma* (Roma, Bibliotheca Hertziana, Istituto Max Planck per la Storia dell’Arte, 25th May 2016); Sergio Nelli, “Indicazioni archivistiche per l’arredamento lucchese dei secoli XVI-XVIII”, in Emilia Daniele, ed., *Le dimore di Lucca. L’arte di abitare i palazzi di una capitale dal Medioevo allo Stato Unitario*, Atti del convegno (Lucca 26-29 ottobre

representations, in the public and private dimension, seems to indicate that “images” were an integral part of the everyday life.¹³³ Works of art were even included in the inventories of the property that were confiscated from “heretics”: among the belongings of Guglielmo Balbani, the civic authorities of the Republic recorded a “little statue” and “4 images in canvas, wood and plaster.”¹³⁴

Certainly, these elements are not enough to prove or deny the possible existence of a “question of images” in Lucca. The problem implies a reference to Protestant iconoclasm, which has been largely investigated in northern European contexts and much less studied in the context of the Italian situation.¹³⁵ In this regard, the case of Lucca provides some

2005) (Firenze: Alinea Editrice, 2007). 285-369. On the presence of “images” in seventeenth-century inventories of Lucca families, see Patrizia Giusti Maccari, “Considerazioni su alcuni inventari di quadrerie lucchesi del Sei-Settecento”, in Daniele, *Le dimore di Lucca*, 251-256.

¹³³ In this regard, Emanuele Pellegrini highlights the large use of visual representations also in the preaching of Lucca civic context, which seems to confirm the role of “images” as an inner component of the life of Lucca citizens. Pellegrini, “Dentro le case di Lucca”.

¹³⁴ Property confiscated on October 5th, 1560. ASLu, Offizio sopra i beni degli eretici, vol. I, ff. 19-20r. See also Isa Belli Barsali, “Le strutture del quotidiano”, in Belli Barsali, *I palazzi dei mercanti*, 499-519.

¹³⁵ The bibliography on Protestant iconoclasm in Northern Europe is extended. For a general framework of studies on the topic, see Dario Gamboni, *The Destruction of Art. Iconoclasm and Vandalism since the French Revolution* (London: Reaktion Books, 2007), 394-395. In the lack of studies on the phenomenon of Protestant iconoclasm in Italy, important exceptions are represented by: Prosperi, “Teologi e pittura”, 582-585; Pierroberto Scaramella, *Le Madonne del Purgatorio. Iconografia e religione in Campania tra rinascimento e controriforma* (Genova: Casa Editrice Marietti, 1991), 165-170; Adriano Prosperi, “Tra venerazione e iconoclastia. Le immagini a soggetto religioso tra Quattrocento e Cinquecento”, in Caterina Furlan, ed., *Dal Pordenone a Palma il Giovane. Devozione e Pietà nel disegno veneziano del Cinquecento*, Catalogo della mostra (Pordenone, ex chiesa di San Francesco, 15 ottobre – 10 dicembre 2000) (Milano: Electa, 2000), 53-68; Pierroberto Scaramella, ““Madonne violate e Christi abbruciati”: note sull’iconoclastia in Italia tra Rinascimento e Controriforma”, in Gian Paolo Brizzi and Giuseppe Olmi, eds., *Dai cantieri della storia. Liber amicorum per Paolo Prodi*

interesting examples. In 1562, Michele Diodati, being suspected of heresy in a trial that had been commissioned by the Inquisition, was accused of “having set some images that he held in his house on fire.”¹³⁶ A few days later, Diodati spontaneously appeared before the authorities of the Republic to make it public that, not only he had been holding images for thirty or forty years in his house, but he had also added some new ones, which everyone was invited to see.¹³⁷ The destruction of images was part of a more general charge of refusing any exterior religious practice: according to his main accuser, Michele Diodati would have denied the adoration of the consecrated host and covered his eyes in front of it, as he claimed “to see better with his heart, than with his eyes.”¹³⁸ This statement recalls the words that Pietro Fatinelli, going to his execution, would have addressed to Diodati himself: he would have refused any image, cross or crucifix, as “when Jesus Christ is engraved in your heart, you do not need any other image.”¹³⁹ It is not difficult to find, in the documents of the Republic, other examples of the refusal of religious images as exterior manifestations of devotion. Giuliano Dezza, condemned as “heretic”, would have said “it was important not to hold any image of Saints.”¹⁴⁰ Cristofano da San Vito would have refused to

(Bologna: CLUEB, 2007), 55-70; Alexander Nagel, *The Controversy of Renaissance Art* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2011), in particular Part III, “Soft Iconoclasm”, 197-285; Firpo and Biferali, *Immagini ed eresie*, in particular 33-46.

¹³⁶ The papers of Michele Diodati’s trial are preserved in AsdLu, Tribunale Ecclesiastico (TE), Fondo Criminale (FC), *Processo Diodati*. The trial is analysed by Simonetta Adorni Braccesi, “Le carte lucchesi del processo inquisitoriale di Michele Diodati (aprile 1559 – aprile 1560)”, *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa. Classe di Lettere e Filosofia*, serie 5, 2009 (1-2), 363-386. See also Adorni Braccesi, «Una città infetta», 368-369, and Berengo, *Nobili e mercanti*, 447-448.

¹³⁷ ASLu, Consiglio generale, Cause delegate, 13, ff. 1155, 1162, 1176-1179. Berengo, *Nobili e mercanti*, 447-448.

¹³⁸ Adorni Braccesi, “Le carte lucchesi del processo inquisitoriale”, 369.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁰ Simonetta Adorni Braccesi, “Giuliano da Dezza caciaiuolo: nuove prospettive sull’eresia a Lucca nel XVI secolo”, *Actum Luce*, 1-3 (1980), 89-138.

turn on a lamp in front of the image of the Virgin and to honour with candles “a piece of plaster and bricks.”¹⁴¹

Similar cases have been observed all over Italy. Their main feature was the break with the institutional system of the sacred, of the Church and of its local structures, and of traditional rituals, which often aimed to be visible and to shock.¹⁴² Despite this, in Italy this kind of actions did not gain the political importance that it had in the Countries of Northern Europe. Indeed, with the singular exception of the Sack of Rome, Italy did not face one of the most evident features of Protestant iconoclasm in northern Europe: the violent action against images by rural and civic masses, sanctioned or not by secular or religious authorities.¹⁴³ The case of Lucca seems to fit within the framework of sixteenth-century Italy, which was therefore characterized by an animated refusal of the worship of images, as well as by iconoclastic actions, despite the absence of mass iconoclasm. In this context, the idea of a massive decreasing of the artistic patronage seems to turn into a possible individual choice that did not radically influence the everyday relationship with the sacred of most of the population of the town, including the families of nobles-merchants ruling it.

The particular nature of the relationship between the artistic production and the religious crisis can be closer examined looking at the activity of artistic patronage of a powerful family of Lucca, the Guidicioni, who actively participated to the religious politics of the Church of Rome in the years of the widest diffusion of “heretical” ideas in Italy.

¹⁴¹ ASLu, Offitio sopra la religione, Scritture varie, 5, f. 217. The case is analysed by Pellegrini, “Dentro le case di Lucca”.

¹⁴² Scaramella, ““Madonne violate e Christi abbruciati””, 65-66.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, 57. Scaramella identifies the cause of the lack of studies on Protestant iconoclasm in Italy exactly in the absence of a generalized phenomenon of massive destruction of sacred images. *Ibid.*

2. The Guidiccioni Family between Lucca and Rome

2.1 The Guidiccioni “Nobles and Merchants” in Lucca

As one of the oldest and most powerful families of the Republic, the Guidiccioni were typical representatives of the clan-structure of sixteenth-century Lucca, founded on the prominence and control of power of entire family units. The commercial nature of social success in Lucca finds a correspondence in the economic strength of the Guidiccioni, which had been at the basis of the rise of the family in the political life of the town since the Middle Ages.

The origins of the Guidiccioni family are shrouded in legend.¹⁴⁴ The first references to Guidiccioni ancestors are dated at the 12th and 13th century. Baroni's genealogy reports that in 1175 Gherardo Guidiccione sold land on behalf of the Abbot of the Lucchese monastery of San Michele in Guamo; that Aldobrandino Guidiccioni was consul in Genoa in 1182; and that in 1212 an Uberto Guidiccioni accompanied Guiniglio Guinigi on an embassy to the Court of Frederick II.¹⁴⁵ The earliest document mentioning the family is dated 29 July 1227 and refers to the swearing of an oath of fealty to the Bishop of Lucca by the Guidiccioni from Verrucola, on the mountains of the Garfagnana.¹⁴⁶ This document supports the conclusion that the first Guidiccioni were rural tenants of

¹⁴⁴ According to local sources, the Guidiccioni settled in Lucca from Germany in 780 AD ca., with Uguccione Guidiccioni, who is considered the forefather of the family. Barsali, *I palazzi dei mercanti*, 402. The archive of the Guidiccioni family in Lucca is lost. Single significant documents on the family are preserved in ASLu and in Rome, in ASR and ASC.

¹⁴⁵ BSL, Baroni, ms. 1115, years 1175, 1182, 1212. Thomas W. Blomquist, “Lineage, Land and Business in the Thirteenth Century: the Guidiccioni Family of Lucca”, *Actum Luce*, n. 9 (1980), 9. Reprinted in Thomas W. Blomquist, *Merchant Families, Banking and Money in Medieval Lucca* (Aldershot and Burlington: Ashgate, 2005). See also Barsali, *I palazzi dei mercanti*, 402.

¹⁴⁶ AsdLu, A, n. 92. Blomquist, “Lineage, Land and Business”, 10.

the Bishop in Verrucola and that they were relatively new to the city.¹⁴⁷ The first member of the family that can be identified with any assurance is Aldobrandino Guidiccioni, who linked the Guidiccioni to the commercial enterprise of the Ricciardi family.¹⁴⁸ The partnership between Guidiccioni and Ricciardi assured the company, which had contacts in Rome and Sicily, its first penetration in the markets of Northern Europe.¹⁴⁹ In 1296, Guidiccioni's elevation to the directorship of the business marked the loss of control by the Ricciardi family and the corresponding standing of the Guidiccioni in the contemporary economic and political scenario.¹⁵⁰ Throughout the 13th century, the Guidiccioni constructed considerable estates in both city and countryside as well.¹⁵¹ In Lucca, they owned a house that, according to the description of the town by Giuseppe Matraja, had belonged to the Gerardenghi family and included a "tower" and a "courtyard."¹⁵² The

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁹ The company dedicated to commercial exchanges in France and England. *Ibid.*, 10-13. Thomas W. Blomquist, "Lineage, Land and Business in the Thirteenth Century: the Guidiccioni Family of Lucca", *Actum Luce*, n. 11 (1982), 7-34. Reprinted in Blomquist, *Merchant Families, Banking and Money*.

¹⁵⁰ Blomquist, "Lineage, Land and Business" (1980), 7-8.

¹⁵¹ It appears that once established in Lucca, the Guidiccioni turned their attention back to the Garfagnana, where, by the end of the century, they had gained a preeminence within the rural consortium of the Gerardenghi as well as control, exercised in the name of the Lucchese Commune, of Verrucola. Blomquist, "Lineage, Land and Business" (1982), 13.

¹⁵² Giuseppe Matraja, *Lucca nel Milleduecento. Memoria di Giuseppe Matraja Pittore* (Lucca: Tipografia di Luigi Guidotti, 1843), Riproduzione fotostatica (Lucca: Azienda Grafica lucchese, 1963), 56, n. 324. Giuseppe Matraja records also some 'houses of the sons of Pagano Guidiccioni'. *Ibid.*, 57, n. 339. The holdings of the Guidiccioni family were located in the neighborhood of Cantonbretti, within the urban district of St. Andrea. In 1233, Paganino Guidiccioni was so closely identified with this area of the city that he was referred to as "Paganinus quondam Guidiccionis de Cantonbretto"; just as some years later Aldibrandino Guidiccioni, who in 1265 purchased a house and land in that neighborhood. Cantonbretti was to remain the geographical center of Guidiccioni holdings in Lucca through succeeding centuries. Blomquist, "Lineage, Land and Business"

new social status of the Guidiccioni and the rising of family awareness are confirmed by the construction of a family crypt in the Chapel of Santa Maria del Soccorso, adjacent to the Church of San Frediano, in 1290.¹⁵³

Hence, in the thirteenth century, the family became a “complex and powerful lineage”,¹⁵⁴ which laid the foundation to the prominence and prosperity the Guidiccioni enjoyed in the succeeding centuries. In the fourteenth century, after being exiled to Venice, they appeared among the representatives of Lucca institutions.¹⁵⁵ At the same time, the commercial enterprise of the family continued to be present on Italian and European markets, although apparently not on the grand scale of the previous period.¹⁵⁶ Between 1393 and 1404, Marco Guidiccioni was in Bruges, in the Lucchese commercial community. In 1414, he was in Venice, in correspondence with Paolo Guinigi.¹⁵⁷ After 1430, the family affirmed its presence in the political life of the re-established Republic, anticipating the political centrality of its representatives in the 16th century.¹⁵⁸

The analysis of the institutions of Cinquecento Lucca shows the constant inclusions of the Guidiccioni in the group of the twenty-four families,

(1982), 11-12. It is likely that the Guidiccioni settled in Lucca under the wing of the Gerardenghi, who held sway in the Garfagnana as territorial lords. Hence, it is plausible that the first Guidiccioni to immigrate to the city settled in an area that was characterized by the presence of the Gherardenghi. *Ibid.*, 12-14. As noticed, Guidiccioni house itself had apparently belonged to the Gerardenghi family.

¹⁵³ Blomquist, “Lineage, Land and Business” (1980), 26-27. Isa Belli Barsali, *Guida di Lucca* (Lucca: Maria Pacini Fazzi Editore, 1970), 192.

¹⁵⁴ Blomquist, “Lineage, Land and Business” (1982), 32.

¹⁵⁵ Barsali, *I palazzi dei mercanti*, 402-404.

¹⁵⁶ Blomquist, “Lineage, Land and Business” (1982), 33.

¹⁵⁷ Barsali, *I palazzi dei mercanti*, 404.

¹⁵⁸ Marco di Francesco Guidiccioni was in the *Consiglio Generale* and in the *Collegio degli Anziani* several times between 1447 and 1449; in 1469, he was elected *Gonfaloniere*. Giovanni di Aldobrandino was in the *Consiglio Generale* for 21 times between 1453 and 1493 and was elected *Gonfaloniere* in 1460. Baldassare di Pietro and Filippo di Marco were in the *Consiglio* as well, whereas Alessandro di Giovanni was *Gonfaloniere* in 1503. *Ibid.*

which, in the turnover of individuals of the same houses, effectively transformed the Republic into an oligarchy.¹⁵⁹ Between 1501 and 1520, the Guidiccioni had 36 representatives in the *Consiglio Generale* and 18 members in the *Collegio degli Anziani*,¹⁶⁰ thus ranking in an intermediate position among the most influential families of the town.¹⁶¹ Furthermore, over the succeeding years, several representatives of the family actively participated to the political life of the city.¹⁶² On the other hand, the presence of a family in the political institutions of the Republic was only a manifestation – although a crucial one – of its authority.¹⁶³ Consequently, an analysis of the centrality of the Guidiccioni in sixteenth-century Lucca must consider also other elements.

¹⁵⁹ See chapter 1.1.

¹⁶⁰ Berengo, *Nobili e mercanti*, 28-30.

¹⁶¹ In the period considered, the number of representatives in the *Consiglio Generale* for each family was the following: Poggi, Arnolfini, Bernardi, Trenta and Burlamacchi, 76 members; Cenami, 42; Guinigi, 40; Balbani, 39; Guidiccioni, 36; Tegrini, 31; Rapondi and Bernardini, 30; Martini, 29; Franciotti, 28; Turretini, Vellutelli and Del Portico, 26; Mei and De Nobili, 25; Pini, 24; De Micheli, Serfederighi, Sergiusti and Serdini, 21. In the *Collegio degli Anziani*: Poggi, 65 members; Cenami, 46; Trenta and Bernardi, 45; Arnolfini, 43; Guinigi, 37; Bernardini and Burlamacchi, 36; Pini, 24; Vellutelli, 23; Portico and Sbarra, 22; Rapondi and Fatinelli, 20; Santini, 19; Serfederighi and Guidiccioni, 18; Buonvisi and De Micheli, 17; Minutoli, Franciotti and Spada, 16; Montecatini and Franchi, 15. *Ibid.*

¹⁶² Between 1510 and 1533, Lorenzo di Luiso was in the *Consiglio Generale*; between 1492 and 1539 and between 1503 and 1547, Giambattista di Luiso and Pietro di Giovanni; between 1540 and 1562, Antonio di Alessandro; between 1573 and 1603, Ippolito di Nicolao, who was also in the *Collegio degli Anziani* in 1576. Barsali, *I palazzi dei mercanti*, 404. For a complete overview of the public offices the Guidiccioni held in the sixteenth century, see Bertelli, *Trittico: Lucca, Ragusa, Boston*, 404-405.

¹⁶³ Berengo highlights the case of the Buonvisi family, which had few representatives in Lucca institutions, despite its prominence in the life of the Republic, due to its enormous economic power. Berengo, *Nobili e mercanti*, 30-31.

According to the extraordinary taxation that the Republic imposed in 1593 and 1599,¹⁶⁴ the Guidiccioni had a conspicuous patrimony, which assured their inclusion in the richest forty families of the town. Members of the family continued to take part in international business: the Guidiccioni held commercial companies in Lyon in Antwerp¹⁶⁵ and were associated to the silk enterprise of Piero di Damiano Bernardini in Lucca.¹⁶⁶ Despite this, their participation in commercial and banking activities does not appear to be prominent in the sixteenth century. The economic wellbeing of the family was mainly based on a rich landed-patrimony, which was a key element in the longevity of the Guidiccioni as a distinct family group.¹⁶⁷

In the same period, the consolidation of the family was also founded on marriage unions, which represented an important instrument of social centralization. In this regard, on the one hand, the Guidiccioni strengthened and extended their ties with families of analogous

¹⁶⁴ In 1593, on request of the Emperor Rudolph II and Pope Clemens VII, the Republic had to contribute to the expenses of the war against the Turks. In order to collect the money, the *Consiglio Generale* imposed extraordinary taxation to every family with a patrimony higher than 400 D. Another extraordinary taxation was imposed in 1599, to fill a gap in the budget of the Republic. From the data of the extraordinary taxation, it is possible to know the distribution of wealth in Lucca at the end of the 16th century. Buonvisi were the richest family, followed by Cenami, Mansi, Arnolfini, Di Poggio and Guinigi. Giorgio Tori, "La ricchezza delle famiglie secondo le imposte straordinarie del 1593 e del 1599", in Barsali, *I palazzi dei mercanti*, 63-68.

¹⁶⁵ Giorgio Tori, "Le compagnie mercantili a Lucca e all'estero", in Barsali, *I palazzi dei mercanti*, 76, n. 74; Eugenio Lazzareschi, ed., *Libro della comunità dei mercanti lucchesi in Bruges*, Preface by Armando Saporì (Milan: Rodolfo Malfasi Editore, 1949), XXXIII, note 3.

¹⁶⁶ Tori, "Le compagnie mercantili a Lucca e all'estero", in Barsali, *I palazzi dei mercanti*, 78, n. 113.

¹⁶⁷ Blomquist, "Lineage, Land and Business" (1982), 34.

economic standing, such as the Fatinelli¹⁶⁸ and Liena.¹⁶⁹ On the other hand, they allied with families that held a prominent position in the political and commercial community of the town, such as the Arnolfini¹⁷⁰ and the Balbani.¹⁷¹ In addition, they acted as elements of attraction for families that had a less relevant role in Lucca's social community, such as the Bartolomei, Carincioni, Sardini, and Tegrimi.¹⁷²

One of the main indicators of the prestige of the Guidiccioni in the 16th century is the high number of Church representatives the family produced. Indeed, the Guidiccioni were represented by a cardinal, a bishop, and two churchman who guaranteed the influence of the family in the religious framework of the Republic. At the same time, the connections between the family and the Roman Court were essential to define the involvement of Lucca in the religious politics of the Catholic Church, in the most intense phase of the religious crisis. The architect of the religious prominence of the family was Cardinal Bartolomeo Guidiccioni (1469-1549),¹⁷³ who assured a successful religious career to

¹⁶⁸ Marriage between Caterina Guidiccioni and Nicolao di Piero Fatinelli. Simona Mammana, *ad vocem* "GUIDICCIONI, Giovanni", in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Roma: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia italiana, 2003), vol. 61, 324.

¹⁶⁹ Marriage between Pippa di Giambattista Guidiccioni and Nicolao Liena, in 1526. Simone Ragagli, *ad vocem* "LIENA, Nicolao", in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Roma: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia italiana, 2005), vol. 65, 97. See also Berengo, *Nobili e mercanti*, 38, n. 3.

¹⁷⁰ Marriage between Isabetta Guidiccioni and Ludoviso Arnfolini. Mammana, "GUIDICCIONI, Giovanni", 324.

¹⁷¹ Marriage between Ginevra di Luiso Guidiccioni and Biagio Balbani, in 1505. Gemma Miani, *ad vocem* "BALBANI, Biagio", in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Roma: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia italiana, 1963), vol. 5, 320.

¹⁷² Giuseppe Vincenzo Baroni records marriage unions between: Vincenzo Guidiccioni and Maria Bartolomei; Lucia di Nicolao Guidiccioni and Nicolao Carincioni; Ne Guidiccioni and Pier Angelo Sardini; Chiara Guidiccioni and Raffaello Tegrimi; Ne Guidiccioni and Tegrimo Tegrimi. BSL, ms. 1115, Guidiccioni.

¹⁷³ The main study on Bartolomeo Guidiccioni is represented by Hubert Jedin, "Concilio e Riforma nel pensiero del cardinale Bartolomeo Guidiccioni", *Rivista di storia della chiesa in Italia*, II (1948), 33-60. On Bartolomeo Guidiccioni see also:

his nephews Giovanni (1500-1541), Alessandro (1489-1552) and Alessandro I (1524-1605).¹⁷⁴ Moreover, Cardinal Bartolomeo was responsible for the association between the Guidiccioni and the powerful families Franciotti-Della Rovere and Farnese. The protectorship of these families, in particular of the Farnese, must be considered as another distinctive element of Guidiccioni power and authority in the 16th century.

After studying law in Pisa and Bologna, Bartolomeo Guidiccioni settled in Rome, where he started working in the ecclesiastical courts.

Vinzenz Schweitzer, "Kardinal Bartolomeo Guidiccioni (1469-1549)", *Römische Quartalschrift für Christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte. Geschichte*, vol. XX (1906), 27-53; Ludwig von Pastor, *Storia dei papi. Dalla fine del Medio Evo. Vol. V. Paolo III (1534-1549)* (Roma: Desclée, 1914), *ad ind.*; Konrad Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica. Medii et Recentioris Aevi* (Monasterii Librariae Regensbergianae, 1923), vol. III, 27, 112, 171, 229; Frederic Corss Church, *The Italian reformers. 1534-1564* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1932), *ad ind.*; Pascal, *Da Lucca a Ginevra*; Pietro Tacchi Venturi, *Storia della Compagnia di Gesù in Italia col sussidio di fonti inedite dal padre Tacchi Venturi* (Roma: Civiltà Cattolica, 1950-51), *ad ind.*; Jedin, *Storia del Concilio di Trento*, *ad ind.*; Ristori, "Le origini della Riforma a Lucca"; Berengo, *Nobili e mercanti*, *ad ind.*; Joseph F. Conwell, "Cardinals Guidiccioni and Ghinucci faced with the solemn approbation of the Society of Jesus", *Archivum historicum Societatis Iesu*, vol. LXVI (1997), 3-25; Umberto Mazzone, *ad vocem* "Guidiccioni, Bartolomeo", in *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques* (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1988), vol. XXII, 802-804; Christoph Weber, ed., *Legati e governatori dello Stato pontificio (1550-1809)* (Roma: Ministero per i beni culturali e ambientali, Ufficio centrale per i beni archivistici, 1994), 719; Adorni Braccesi, «Una città infetta», *ad ind.*; Hubert Jedin, *ad vocem* "Guidiccioni, Bartolomeo", in *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche* (Freiburg: Herder, 1960), vol. IV, 1267; Christoph Weber and Mitwirkung von Michael Becker, *Genealogien zur Papstgeschichte* (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1999), vol. II, 523, 525; Rotraud Becker, *ad vocem* "GUIDICCIÓNI, Bartolomeo", in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Roma: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia italiana, 2004), vol. 61, 320-324.

¹⁷⁴ On these representatives of the family see later in this chapter. On Giovanni and Alessandro (1489-1552) see, respectively, chapters 3 and 4. On the religious power of the Guidiccioni family in Lucca, see in particular Tori, "I vescovi della diocesi di Lucca", 717-728.

Recommended by the famous canonist Felino Sandei,¹⁷⁵ he was accepted into the house of Cardinal Galeotto Franciotti Della Rovere, the nephew of Pope Julius II. Once his protector died, in 1507, he entered the service of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese (the future Pope Paul III), who made him the Vicar General of Parma. Guidiccioni was in Parma for nineteen years. In 1528, he retired in the family *villa* of Carignano, near Lucca, where he dedicated himself to theological and juridical studies.¹⁷⁶ When Cardinal Farnese was elected Pope, Guidiccioni was called to Rome in order to participate in the discussions on the opening of the Council for the reformation of the Church. He later exposed his ideas on the Council in the extended work *De Concilio*, where he defended the necessity of an inner reformation of the Church and the curial position of the supremacy of the Pope over the Council. In other works, collected in the treatise *De Ecclesia*, Guidiccioni expressed his condemnation of Luther's ideas. Without direct knowledge of Luther's work, he interpreted Protestant religion as one of the many heresies that the Church had faced. His condemnation of Reformed ideas involved also Erasmus, whom he considered as one of the most dangerous heretics.¹⁷⁷ In 1539, Guidiccioni was appointed Vicar General in Rome and was made a cardinal. From Rome, he followed the events that led to the diffusion of heretical ideas in Lucca. As a member of the Inquisition since 1542, Bartolomeo acted as a mediator between the civic authorities of the Republic and the Roman Church to contain the spreading of the heresy in Lucca. His efforts were complemented by a direct action of repression once he was nominated Bishop of Lucca in 1546.¹⁷⁸ Guidiccioni's struggle against the heresy in Lucca is a clear example of the contrast between the civic authorities of the Republic and the Church representatives that characterized the

¹⁷⁵ Felino Sandei was the Bishop of Lucca between 1499 and 1503. Ghilarducci, "Il vescovo Felino Sandei"; Tori, "I vescovi della diocesi di Lucca", 721.

¹⁷⁶ Jedin, "Concilio e Riforma nel pensiero del cardinale Guidiccioni"; Becker, "GUIDICCIONI, Bartolomeo", 321.

¹⁷⁷ Jedin, "Concilio e Riforma nel pensiero del cardinale Guidiccioni"; Seidel Menchi, *Erasmus in Italia*, 227-228; Becker, "GUIDICCIONI, Bartolomeo", 321-322.

¹⁷⁸ Berengo, *Nobili e mercanti*, 381-387; Adorni Braccesi, «Una città infetta», 122-143 and 321-326.

Lucchese context in the sixteenth century. On the other hand, his intervention to avoid the settlement of the Inquisition in the town, in 1549,¹⁷⁹ confirms his important role of moderator between the civic interests and the interests of the Church of Rome. This “intermediate” position shows how the definition of both the religious reflection and the political action of Bartolomeo Guidiccioni must be essentially referred to the framework of 16th-century Lucca. Indeed, Bartolomeo’s fully orthodox attitude must be framed within the religious and political context of his hometown. This allows the understanding of Guidiccioni’s contradictory positions, as his firm refusal of Lutheran ideas, which he knew in the way they diffused in Lucca, and his defense of civic independence against the interference of the Roman Church, which Bartolomeo himself represented. In the last years of his life, he participated in the works of the Council of Trento as well, writing reports on the proceeding of its sessions. The centrality of Guidiccioni in the political action of Paul III found expression in his likely representation as the powerful secretary of the Pope on the walls of the *Sala dei Cento Giorni* in the Palace of the Cancelleria Apostolica in Rome, where he was depicted next to the Pope’s nephew Alessandro Farnese in the scene of *Nations Paying Homage to Paul III* (fig. 5).¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁹ On 28th September 1549, Paul III asked Giovan Pietro Carafa to revoke the settlement of the Inquisition in Lucca, following Bartolomeo Guidiccioni’s request. Adorni Braccesi, «Una città infetta», 321-323.

¹⁸⁰ Liana de Girolami Cheney, “Giorgio Vasari’s Sala dei Cento Giorni: a Farnese Celebration”, *Explorations in Renaissance Culture*, vol. XXI (1995), 121-150, in particular 137-138; Becker, “GUIDICCIONI, Bartolomeo”, 323; Massimo Firpo and Fabrizio Biferali, “*Navicula Petri*”. *L’arte dei Papi nel Cinquecento 1527-1571* (Roma: Editori Laterza, 2009), 166-176, in particular 170-171. On the decoration of the room see also Fredrika Herman Jacobs, *Studies in the Patronage and Iconography of Pope Paul III (1534-1549)* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: UMI, 1979), 56-87; Julian Kliemann, “Il pensiero di Paolo Giovio nelle pitture eseguite sulle sue invenzioni” and Clare Robertson “Paolo Giovio and the «Invenzioni» for the Sala dei Cento Giorni”, in *Paolo Giovio. Il Rinascimento e la memoria. Atti del Convegno (Como, 3-5 giugno 1983)* (Como: Società a Villa Gallia, 1985), 197-223 and 227-237; Julian Kliemann, “Programme ou interprétation? A propos des fresques de Vasari à la Cancelleria”, in *A travers l’image. Lecture iconographique et sens de*

The action of Bartolomeo was essential for the strengthening of the authority of the Guidiccioni in sixteenth-century Lucca. He was also responsible for the representation of the prominence of the family, which the cardinal expressed in the construction of a family *villa* in the countryside and in a new family house in the town.

The Guidiccioni *villa* in Carignano (fig. 6-7) had important role in the political action of the Guidiccioni family in the 16th century, as it hosted Pope Paul III in 1538.¹⁸¹ The building is traditionally attributed to the activity of patronage of Bartolomeo Guidiccioni.¹⁸² The evaluation of its architecture is made difficult by a series of interventions that succeeded in the centuries and radically altered the Renaissance structure.¹⁸³ The *villa* had a rectangular-shape design, without foreparts. The façade shows a base in *bugnato*, stringcourses, and arched windows, with flat frameworks in the upper floor and ashlar frameworks in the main

l'oeuvre. Actes du Séminaire CNRS (Paris, 1991) (Paris: Kliencksieck, 1991); Clare Robertson, 'IL GRAN CARDINALE' Alessandro Farnese, *Patron of the Arts* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992), 53-68; Monica Grasso, "La Sala dei Cento Giorni di Giorgio Vasari. Il programma iconografico e la politica dinastica farnesiana", *Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia. Rendiconti*, vol. LXXVI (2003/2004), 175-191.

¹⁸¹ Belli Barsali, *Ville e committenti*, note 6, 188.

¹⁸² «Carignano, villa Guidiccioniorum pagus celebris, a Bartolomeo Cardinali exstructa, a duobus Alexandris Lucensibus, et a Joanne Episcopo Forosempronienensi, literatura insigni, culta». Bartolomeo Beverini, *Carminum libri septem* (Lucca, 1674), note 37, 183. See also Belli Barsali, *Ville e committenti*, note 8, 188.

¹⁸³ It is not possible to establish with any assurance whether the Renaissance *villa* was the result of the restoration of a pre-existing building or it was an *ex-novo* construction. The structure was radically altered by the erection of two side wings in 1936. Even before this transformation, it had been modified by the realization of the two foreparts that are still visible. Belli Barsali, *Ville e committenti*, 157. The last document that certifies the presence of the Guidiccioni family in the *villa* is the headstone of Giulia, the wife of Carlo Guidiccioni (+1816). At the end of the nineteenth century, it was sold to the *Real Collegio* of Lucca. In 1934, it was transformed in a hospital. *Ibid.*, note 4, 188. It is today an abandoned building.

floor.¹⁸⁴ Two windows frame the portal, which allows access to the raised floor. The comparison with other *ville* of the Lucca countryside and with city buildings confirms a dating at the beginning of the sixteenth century.¹⁸⁵

In his testament (doc. 2), Bartolomeo Guidiccioni communicated preoccupation for the bad conditions of Guidiccioni city residence, which was “to collapse.” He consequently entrusted his heirs with the renovation of the house, leaving a consistent amount of money for its realization.¹⁸⁶ The renovation of a preexisting building is confirmed by the structures of medieval houses that are visible in the walls of the sixteenth-century building.¹⁸⁷ The palace (fig. 8-9) opens on a large square and is characterized by windows on four levels – with bigger windows in the lowest three floors and smaller windows in the higher floor- and a large portal. This latter (fig. 10) is framed by columns and is

¹⁸⁴ According to Isa Belli Barsali, the windows of the main floor must be dated after the beginning of the sixteenth century. *Ibid.*, 157.

¹⁸⁵ Isa Belli Barsali compares the drawing of the *villa*, originally without foreparts, to those of *villa* Buonvisi in Valgiano, *villa* Ottolini in Segromigno and *villa* Buonvisi in Forci. Moreover, the scholar associates the arched windows of the last floor of *villa* Guidiccioni to the similar windows of Bernardini Palace in Lucca. *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁶ The testament was stipulated by notary Giuseppe da Piscilla, on 15 April 1539. ASLu, *Testamenti*, vol. 39, f. 339r. See also Berengo, *Nobili e mercanti*, 51-52; Barsali, *I palazzi dei mercanti*, 402. In the testament of Bartolomeo di Antonio Guidiccioni (+1627), dated 1 June 1624, it was possible to read that the palace, which the Guidiccioni had owned for more than four centuries, had been restored for care of Cardinal Bartolomeo, who had spent a large amount of money for it. Georg Christoph Martini, *Viaggio in Toscana (1725-1745)*. Translated by Oscar Trumpy. Edited by Giordano Bertuzzi and others (Modena: Poligrafico Artioli, 1969), note 77, 126 and 194. See also Stella Rudolph, “Appunti per Vincenzo Civitali”, *La Provincia di Lucca*, anno 16, n. 2 (aprile-giugno 1976), 79, note 15.

¹⁸⁷ The Palace was built on the place of the medieval houses of the Guidiccioni. See this chapter, note 9. It was realized through the union of at least three buildings and a tower, which still shows his structure at the corner between via St. Andrea and via Diversi. Osvaldo Nieri, “Agostino Lupi architetto lucchese di fine ‘500”, *Rivista di archeologia, storia, costume*, anno 41, n. 3-4 (2013), 44.

overlooked by a balcony. The proximity of the Guidiccioni to the Farnese family led Stella Rudolph to consider the Palace a local imitation of the Farnese Palace in Rome. According to a well-established tradition, the scholar attributed the project of the Guidiccioni Palace to Lucchese architect and engineer Vincenzo Civitali.¹⁸⁸ The difficult acceptability of this attribution was firstly due to the lack of elements of comparison. Indeed, the architectural activity of Civitali is today testified only by a *loggia* in the Palace “del Pretorio” in Lucca, a few war architectures, the altar of the Church of Santa Maria Forisportam, and the drawing for some chapels in the Cathedral of San Martino.¹⁸⁹ In the eighteenth century, Georg Christoph Martini appreciated the Guidiccioni Palace. This was especially true for the drawing of the windows and the portal, which he attributed to Florentine architect Bartolomeo Ammannati.¹⁹⁰ Modern studies have in turn underlined the original solutions of the façade of the palace¹⁹¹, which have been compared to the architectural language of Ammannati.¹⁹² In particular, the framing of the windows of

¹⁸⁸ Rudolph, “Appunti per Vincenzo Civitali”, 77-85. Stella Rudolph, *ad vocem* “CIVITALI, Vincenzo”, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Roma: Istituto dell’Enciclopedia italiana, 1982), vol. 26, 113-115. For the attribution of the Palace to Vincenzo Civitali by the local tradition, see: Antonio Mazzarosa, *Guida di Lucca e dei luoghi più importanti del ducato* (Lucca: Tipografia di Giuseppe Giusti, 1845). Ristampa anastatica (Sala Bolognese: Arnaldo Forni Editore, 1974), 129; Placido Campetti, *Guida di Lucca. Con notizie storiche della città e dei suoi monumenti, vedute, pianta topografica, ecc.* (Lucca: Stabilimento tipografico G. Giusti, 1912), 110; Enrico Ridolfi, *Guida di Lucca* (Lucca, coi Tipi Giusti, 1899), 156-158; Barsali, *Guida di Lucca*, 210.

¹⁸⁹ Nieri, “Agostino Lupi architetto lucchese”, 40.

¹⁹⁰ Martini, *Viaggio in Toscana*, 126 and 194.

¹⁹¹ Velia Gini Bartoli, *Lucca. Guida alle Architetture* (Lucca: Il Ghironcello, 2000), 83.

¹⁹² Barsali, *I palazzi dei mercanti*, 402. Stella Rudolph, even in the comparison with the Farnese Palace in Rome, highlights the mannerist style of the windows of the Guidiccioni Palace, which the scholar considers ‘close to the mark that Ammannati gave to Lucchese architecture’. Rudolph, “CIVITALI, Vincenzo”, 113. Maria Adriana Giusti considers the reference to Ammannati’s style of architectures attributed to Vincenzo Civitali –including the Guidiccioni Palace -

the lowest level (fig. 11, 13), with a decoration in *bugnato* and sculpted “masques”, has been linked to the decoration of the pillars of the so-called courtyard “*degli Svizzeri*”, in the Palazzo Pubblico of Lucca¹⁹³ (fig. 12, 14), which was commissioned by the *Anziani* of the Republic to Bartolomeo Ammannati in 1577.¹⁹⁴ The decoration of the lowest windows of Palazzo Guidiccioni, with *bugnato* and masques, finds a correspondence in the Lucchese context also in the decoration of the façade of the Palace of Giovanni Battista Bernardi (fig. 15). This was concluded in the second half of the 16th century, once again under the likely direction of Bartolomeo Ammannati.¹⁹⁵ The association between Guidiccioni and Bernardi palaces is particularly relevant, as Giovanni Battista Bernardi was a close friend of the Guidiccioni family, especially

as the result of the encounter between Civitali and Ammannati in Rome, in the 1550s. Maria Adriana Giusti, “Il linguaggio ammannatiano nel palazzo e nel giardino lucchese”, in Niccolò Rosselli Dal Turco and Federica Salvi, eds., *Bartolomeo Ammannati. Scultore e Architetto 1511-1592, Atti del Convegno (Firenze-Lucca, 17-19 marzo 1994)* (Firenze: Alinea editrice, 1995), 161-162.

¹⁹³ Barsali, *I palazzi dei mercanti*, 402; Giusti, “Il linguaggio ammannatiano”, 161; Nieri, “Agostino Lupi architetto lucchese”, 45.

¹⁹⁴ Bartolomeo Ammannati worked to the reconstruction of the Palazzo Pubblico in Lucca between 1577 and 1581. See Isa Belli Barsali, “Problemi per la tarda architettura di Bartolomeo Ammannati: il Palazzo Pubblico di Lucca”, *Palladio*, anno 10, n. 1-2 (gennaio-giugno 1969), 50-68. Republished in Maria Teresa Filieri, ed., *Isa Belli Barsali per la città di Lucca, scritti scelti dal 1947 al 1986*, (Lucca: Maria Pacini Fazzi Editore, 2004), 83-106; Isa Belli Barsali, “Gli edifici preesistenti e il progetto dell’AMMANNATI”; Giovanni Pacini “La documentazione grafica del '500 e del '600”; Giorgio Tori, “La destinazione del Palazzo Pubblico di Lucca alla metà del XVI secolo”, in Belli Barsali, *Il Palazzo Pubblico di Lucca*, 49-61, 63-66, 77-87; Barsali, *I palazzi dei mercanti*, 120-129; Gioia Barsella and others, “Il Palazzo Pubblico di Lucca”, in Rosselli Dal Turco and Salvi, *Bartolomeo Ammannati*, 175-186.

¹⁹⁵ On the Palace of Giovanni Battista Bernardi see Barsali, *I palazzi dei mercanti*, 342; Giusti, “Il linguaggio ammannatiano,” 165; Gaia Pergola, “Palazzo Bernardi Micheletti a Lucca. Analisi storica, stato di conservazione, proposte di valorizzazione”, in *Il futuro ha un cuore antico. Il restauro come strumento per il rinnovo della città e del territorio. Cinque tesi di laurea su Lucca* (Lucca: S. Marco Litotipo, 1994), 81-104.

because of Bartolomeo and Giovanni Guidiccioni, as it will be said.¹⁹⁶ Another comparison has been established between the same windows of the Guidiccioni Palace and the decoration of some of the windows of the wall surrounding the garden of *villa* Buonvisi in Lucca, which show the presence of similar masques (fig. 16).¹⁹⁷ The windows of the second order of the Guidiccioni Palace (fig. 17), framed with flat pillars, have been in turn linked to another typology of windows of the wall of the garden of *villa* Buonvisi (fig. 18).¹⁹⁸ The association between the Guidiccioni Palace and other Lucchese buildings of the second half of the 16th century has supported hypotheses that dated at this period the renovation of Guidiccioni family house recorded in the testament of Cardinal Bartolomeo.¹⁹⁹ These hypotheses have been clarified by the recent discovery of payment documents for the sculpted decoration of the façade of the palace.²⁰⁰ According to the documents, Alessandro I Guidiccioni commissioned works for the building to Lucchese architect Agostino Lupi between 1582 and 1588.²⁰¹ In particular, payments are

¹⁹⁶ On Giovanni Battista Bernardi see later in this chapter.

¹⁹⁷ Nieri, “Agostino Lupi architetto lucchese”, 56.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁹ Barsali, *I palazzi dei mercanti*, 402. Velia Gini Bartolomeo refers to the seventeenth century the façade, especially the upper levels. Gini Bartoli, *Lucca. Guida alle Architetture*, 83.

²⁰⁰ The documents are preserved in AsdLu. They were highlighted by Patrizia Giusti Maccari and analysed by Agostino Nieri. Patrizia Giusti Maccari, “Dal “pacifico et popolare Stato” alla Repubblica Oligarchica”, in Maria Teresa Filieri, ed., *Arte a Lucca. Un percorso nell’arte lucchese dall’Alto Medioevo al Novecento* (Lucca: PubliEd Editore in Lucca, 2001), 171-177; Nieri, “Agostino Lupi architetto lucchese”, 43.

²⁰¹ The activity of Agostino Lupi in Lucca is documented between 1576 and 1593. Apart from the Guidiccioni Palace, he worked to the restoration of the Palazzo Pubblico (1576-1577); the “solders quarters”, still in the Palazzo Pubblico (1589 ca.); the choir, the ciborium and the dormitory of the Church of Santa Maria Corteorlandini (1584-1593); the altars of the Cathedral of San Martino (1589-1591). Nieri, “Agostino Lupi architetto lucchese.” Osvaldo Nieri attributes the architect also the project of *villa* Buonvisi in Lucca, for the similarities between this building and the Guidiccioni Palace. *Ibid.*, 53-56.

recorded for the realization of the masques that decorate the shelves of the windows of the lowest level and the arms of the family above the portal (today destroyed).²⁰² These documents are extremely important, firstly because they confirm the hypothesis that postponed the restoration of the Palace to the second half of the sixteenth century. Moreover, they demonstrate the continuity of patronage activity and family representation that tied, together with the religious politics, Bartolomeo Guidiccioni and his nephew Alessandro I.

Alessandro I (1524-1605) succeeded Bartolomeo Guidiccioni in the role of Bishop of Lucca in 1549.²⁰³ For more than fifty years, he exercised a

²⁰² *Ibid.*, 43. A nineteenth-century engraving by Angelo Leopoldo Ardinghi, preserved in ASLu (and reproduced in Barsali, *I palazzi dei mercanti*, 495), shows the arms of the Borbone family above the portal. Moreover, it shows the lowest level of the façade with a *bugnato* decoration. The presence of the arms of the Borbone family is documented also by some pictures dated 1938 in the Alinari-Brogi archives (BGA-F-026216-0000: 'Esterno del Palazzo Guidiccioni a Lucca', 1938, Archivi Alinari - Archivio Brogi, Firenze; BGA-F-026217-0000: 'Particolare della facciata di Palazzo Guidiccioni a Lucca, opera di Vincenzo Civitali', 1938, Archivi Alinari - Archivio Brogi, Firenze). These pictures do not show the presence of the *bugnato* decoration in the lowest part of the façade. At the present today, there is no sign of the ashlar decoration in the lowest level of the façade and the arms of the Borbone family have been replaced by a window. The arms of the Borbone family were raised when Maria Luisa di Borbone bought the Palace, in 1822. The Palace was then transformed in the State Archive of Lucca, a function that the building has preserved until today.

²⁰³ On Alessandro I Guidiccioni, see: Berengo, *Nobili e mercanti, ad. ind.*; Tori, *"I vescovi nella diocesi di Lucca"*, 722-723; Adorni Braccesi, *«Una città infetta»*, *ad. ind.*; Simonetta Adorni Braccesi, *"La magistratura delle cause delegate nella Repubblica di Lucca: eresia e stregoneria (secoli XVI-XVIII)"*, in Andrea Del Col and Giovanna Paolin, eds., *L'Inquisizione romana: metodologia delle fonti e storia istituzionale. Atti del seminario internazionale (Montereale Valcellina, 23-24 settembre 1999)*, (Trieste-Montereale Valcellina: Edizioni Università di Trieste-Circolo Culturale Menocchio), 273-294; Adriano Prosperi, *Tribunali della coscienza. Inquisitori, confessori, missionari* (Torino: Giulio Einaudi Editore, 1996), 82; Simonetta Adorni Braccesi and Simone Ragagli, *ad vocem "GUIDICCIONI, Alessandro"*, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Roma: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia italiana, 2004), vol. 61, 315-318.

strict control on the religious life of the town, continuing the action of repression of the heresy that his uncle had begun. He started a moral and behavioral reformation that carefully censored the conduct of people and of clergy.²⁰⁴ In this context, he also promoted religious feasts and processions, the cult of relics and the use of religious images to show the faithful the sacred history and the lives of saints.²⁰⁵ His reforming zeal would find expression in the project of renovation of the altars of Lucca Cathedral, as previously described.²⁰⁶ Before he died, Alessandro I assured his cousin Alessandro II (1555-1637)²⁰⁷ of his succession in the role of Bishop of Lucca, thus extending to the seventeenth century the domination of the religious life that the Guidiccioni had exercised in Cinquecento Lucca.²⁰⁸

The action of Bartolomeo Guidiccioni was also central in guaranteeing the military and diplomatic career of his nephews Antonio and Nicolao Guidiccioni, as is recalled in the cardinal's testament (doc. 2). Antonio, after having been in the Papal army and at the service of Pier Luigi Farnese, entered the service of the Imperial army in 1554.²⁰⁹ There he was under the command of the Marquess of Marignano, Gian Giacomo de' Medici, the brother of Cardinal Giovan Angelo. In 1559, at the service of

²⁰⁴ Adorni Braccesi, *"La magistratura delle cause delegate"*; Adorni Braccesi and Ragagli, *"GUIDICCIONI, Alessandro"*, 316-317.

²⁰⁵ Adorni Braccesi and Ragagli, *"GUIDICCIONI, Alessandro"*, 317.

²⁰⁶ See chapter 1, paragraph 2.1. This decorative intervention has been interpreted for a long time as an example of the use of artistic images as an instrument of the Church of Counter-Reformation. It is not analyzed into details as it falls outside the chronological limits of this research.

²⁰⁷ See Simone Ragagli, *ad vocem* *"GUIDICCIONI, Alessandro"*, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Roma: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia italiana, 2004), vol. 61, 318-320 and the bibliography there cited.

²⁰⁸ Tori, *"I vescovi nella diocesi di Lucca"*, 717-728.

²⁰⁹ On Antonio Guidiccioni see Cesare Sardi, *"I capitani lucchesi del secolo XVI"*, *Atti dell'Accademia lucchese di scienze, lettere ed arti*, n. 32 (1904), 61-176; Berengo, *Nobili e mercanti*, *ad. ind.*; Adorni Braccesi, *"Le carte lucchesi del processo inquisitoriale"*, 381-382. Antonio is recalled in the testament of Bartolomeo Guidiccioni. ASLu, *Testamenti*, vol. 39, ff. 337-344. See also Berengo, *Nobili e mercanti*, 51-52.

Cosimo I and among his confidants, Antonio was suspected by his compatriots of being ready to betray the Lucchese Republic to the advantage of Florence.²¹⁰ He was later involved in the trial against Michele Diodati, accused as heretic,²¹¹ and was called to Rome to testify about the accused.²¹² Nicolao Guidiccioni was a famous jurist.²¹³ As a representative of the Lucchese Republic, he spent most of his life in Florence. There, in the role of ambassador, he acted as a mediator between Lucca and Florence in the events that followed the discovery of the conjuration of Francesco Burlamacchi.²¹⁴ Still in the role of ambassador, Nicolao was sent by his uncle Bartolomeo to Rome in 1542, in order to testify about the diffusion of heretical ideas in Lucca.²¹⁵

Most of all, the role of Bartolomeo was essential in assuring a religious career for his nephews Giovanni and Alessandro (1489-1552) Guidiccioni, who, as was the case with Bartolomeo himself, held relevant positions at the Farnese court. As, respectively, papal ambassador and secretary of the powerful Cardinal Alessandro Farnese,²¹⁶ Giovanni and Alessandro Guidiccioni were able to establish, together with their uncle Bartolomeo, a familiar nucleus that extended the family-structure of sixteenth-century Lucca to Rome. The centrality of the Guidiccioni family in the Roman context leads to an investigation of the strategy of family representation, both in Lucca and in Rome. This analysis will

²¹⁰ Sardi, "I capitani lucchesi del secolo XVI", 147; Berengo, *Nobili e mercanti*, 231; Adorni Braccesi, "Le carte lucchesi del processo inquisitoriale", 381-382.

²¹¹ See chapter 1, paragraph 2.2.

²¹² Adorni Braccesi, "Le carte lucchesi del processo inquisitoriale", 381-382.

²¹³ On Nicolao Guidiccioni see Cesare Cantù, *Gli eretici d'Italia. Discorsi storici* (Torino: Unione Tipografico Editrice, 1866), vol. 2, 493; Berengo, *Nobili e mercanti*, ad. ind.; Adorni Braccesi, «Una città infetta», ad. ind.; Bertelli, *Trittico: Lucca, Ragusa, Boston*, 274. Nicolao is recalled in the testament of Bartolomeo Guidiccioni. ASLu, *Testamenti*, vol. 39, ff. 337-344. See also Berengo, *Nobili e mercanti*, 51-52.

²¹⁴ On the conjuration of Francesco Burlamacchi, see chapter 1.1. Berengo, *Nobili e mercanti*, 207.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 499; Adorni Braccesi, «Una città infetta», 131-132; Bertelli, *Trittico: Lucca, Ragusa, Boston*, 274;

²¹⁶ On Giovanni and Alessandro Guidiccioni see, respectively, chapters 3 and 4.

firstly consider the role of the Guidiccioni in the Lucchese community of the city.

2.2 The Guidiccioni and the Lucchese Community of Rome

2.2.1 “*Natio Lucensis de Urbe*”: the Lucchese Colony of Rome as a National Community

An analysis of the Lucchese community in sixteenth-century Rome implies an introduction to the essential features of foreigners’ forms of association and expression of identity in the papal city. Indeed, Rome in the early modern period has been described as an “agglomeration of *nationes* that lived at once together and apart:”²¹⁷ a “composite unity”,²¹⁸ which recognized and imposed control over diversity. In other words, Rome had an international character, which was determined by the high number of foreigners living in the urban context, being identified by cultural - and especially linguistic - traits²¹⁹ and getting together in national groups.²²⁰

²¹⁷ Irene Fosi, “*Roma patria comune? Foreigners in Early Modern Rome*”, in Jill Burke and Michael Bury, eds., *Art and Identity in Early Modern Rome* (Aldershot and Burlington: Ashgate, 2008), 27.

²¹⁸ *Ibid.*

²¹⁹ Clifford William Mass highlights the importance of language as the main trait of national identity of the German Community of Rome. Clifford William Mass, *The German Community in Renaissance Rome 1378-1523* (Rome, Freiburg, Vienna: Herder, 1981), 175.

²²⁰ On the cosmopolitan composition of early modern Rome, see: Jean Delumeau, *Vie économique et sociale de Rome dans la seconde moitié du XVI siècle* (Paris: Éditions De Boccard, 1957-1959); Peter Partner, *Renaissance Rome 1500-1559. A Portrait of a Society* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1976); Egmont Lee, “Foreigners in Quattrocento Rome”, *Renaissance and Reformation*, vol. VII, n. 2 (May 1983), 135-146; Pierre Hurtubise, “La présence des «étrangers» à la cour de Rome dans la première moitié du XVI siècle”, in *Forestieri e stranieri*

The image of Rome as a cosmopolitan city is described by sixteenth-century writers, such as Roman Chronicle Marcello Alberini²²¹ and Michel de Montaigne²²². Modern studies do not agree on the precise amount of foreigners living in the urban framework.²²³ The approximate

nelle città basso-medievali. Atti del Seminario Internazionale di Studio (Bagno a Ripoli, Firenze, 4-8 giugno 1984) (Firenze: Libreria Salimbeni, 1988), 135-146; *Popolazione e società a Roma dal Medioevo all'età contemporanea*, edited by Eugenio Sonnino (Roma: Il calamo, 1998); Matteo Sanfilippo, "Migrazioni a Roma tra età moderna e contemporanea", *Studi Emigrazione/Migration Studies*, vol. 44, n. 165 (2007), 19-32; Irene Fosi, "Roma patria comune?"; Matteo Sanfilippo, "Roma nel Rinascimento: una città di immigrati", in *Le forme del testo e l'immaginario della metropoli*, edited by Benedetta Bini and Valerio Viviani (Viterbo: Sette Città, 2009), 73-85; Irene Fosi, *Convertire lo straniero. Forestieri e inquisizione a Roma in età moderna* (Roma: Viella, 2011); *Identità e rappresentazione. Le chiese nazionali a Roma, 1450-1650*, edited by Alexander Koller and Susanne Kubersky-Piredda (Roma: Campisano Editore, 2015). On the notion of "nation", before the development of the modern concept of "nationalism", see, at least: *National Cultures Before Nationalism*, special issue of *Representations*, n. 47 (summer 1994), edited by Carla Hesse and Thomas Laquer; Anthony D. Smith, *Nationalism and Modernism* (New York: Routledge, 1998); Anthony D. Smith, *The Cultural Foundations of Nations. Hierarchy, Covenant and Republic* (Malden, MA; Oxford: Blackwell, 2008); *Identity, Ethnicity, and Nationhood before Modernity. Acts of the International Conference* (Oxford, Ertgun House/The Ioannou Centre, University of Oxford, 24-26 April 2015), edited by Ilya Afanesyev and Nicholas S. M. Matehou, in preparation. On collective identities, see also *Identità collettive tra Medioevo ed età moderna. Atti del convegno internazionale di studio* (Bologna, 28-30 settembre 2002), edited by Paolo Prodi and Wolfgang Reinhard (Bologna: CLUEB, 2002). On *nationes* in early modern Europe and Italy, see *Comunità forestiere e "nationes" nell'Europa dei secoli XIII-XVI*, edited by Giovanna Petti Balbi (Napoli: Liguori Editore, 2001).

²²¹ Partner, *Renaissance Rome*, 75; Lee, "Foreigners in Quattrocento Rome", 135.

²²² Hurtubise, "La présence des «étrangers»", 57 and notes 1-2.

²²³ Different interpretations of data on the Roman population have been due to at least two main problems: the approximation of the sources on the number of inhabitants and the complex definition of what it did mean to be a "foreigner" (as well as conversely of what could be considered as "Roman"). As for the first problem, the exact number of people living in Rome in the sixteenth century can only be guessed at, as the first complete census of the Roman population is dated 1527, whereas fiscal data and parochial computations related to the remain years

do not provide reliable figures. According to the census taken a few months before the Sack of Rome of 1527, in that year the population of Rome amounted at 53,689 people (the first census was carried out in 1517, but the codex that reports it is incomplete. Mariano Armellini edited the manuscript in the nineteenth century. Mariano Armellini, *Un censimento della città di Roma sotto il pontificato di Leone X. Tratto da un codice inedito dell'Archivio Vaticano*, Roma: Tipografia di Alessandro Befani, 1822). See Ivana Ait, "La dogana di terra come fonte per lo studio della presenza di mercanti stranieri a Roma nel XV secolo", in *Forestieri e stranieri nelle città basso-medievali*, 29 and note 2; Francesco Guido Bruscoli, *Papal Banking in Renaissance Rome. Benvenuto Olivieri and Paul III, 1534-1549* (Hampshire and Burlington: Ashgate, 2007), 1. The census of 1526-27 has been published by Domenico Gnoli, "Descriptio Urbis o censimento della popolazione di Roma avanti il Sacco Borbonico", *Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria*, vol. XVII (1894), 375-520. Republished in Egmont Lee, ed., *Descriptio Urbis. The Roman Census of 1527* (Roma: Bulzoni, 1985). The total given by Domenico Gnoli (55,095) was first corrected by Jean Delumeau and then further adjusted by Egmont Lee. Gnoli, "Descriptio Urbis"; Delumeau, *Vie économique et sociale*, vol. I, 198; Lee, *Descriptio Urbis*, 20. See also Bruscoli, *Papal Banking in Renaissance Rome*, note 2, 2. The figure reported by the 1527 census was the result of an increasing of the population since the end of the fourteenth century. Roman population would increase again up to approximately 100.000 inhabitants in 1600 (it is estimated that at the end of the fourteenth century there were 25,000 inhabitants, rising to 30-35,000 around 1450, to approximately 45,000 in 1480, reaching 55-60,000 in the 1520s, 75,000 in 1550, 100,000 in 1600). Lee, "Foreigners in Quattrocento Rome", 135-146; Ait, "La dogana di terra come fonte", 29-43; Bruscoli, *Papal Banking in Renaissance Rome*, 1. As for the second problem, the identification of "foreigners" is not obvious. Pierre Hurtubise has highlighted how the word "foreigner" is ambivalent with a reference to the early modern period, as at that time the tendency was to distinguish between *stranieri*, i.e. non-Italians, and *forestieri*, i.e. non-Romans Italians. Hurtubise, "La présence des «étrangers»", 57-80. Irene Fosi, analyzing the Roman statutes, has underlined an even more complex identification of "foreigners", because of a distinction between the categories of *cives*, i.e. Roman citizens; *forenses*, i.e. foreigners pure and simple; and *incolae*, i.e. inhabitants who for several generations had been residing in the city and had being under the jurisdiction of the city magistrates, even though they did not hold the Roman citizenship. Fosi, "Roma patria comune?".

estimates of the population of Rome and the ambiguities in the identification of “foreigners” have led to different calculations of the number of the outsiders living in the city context in the early modern period.²²⁴ Despite these differences, studies coincide in affirming that in the census of the Roman population of 1527 a large percentage of inhabitants was made of immigrants. Therefore, modern analyses confirming ancient sources agree in describing Rome as “a city of non-Romans”²²⁵ and as “one of the most cosmopolitan cities of fifteenth and sixteenth-century Europe.”²²⁶

An essential trait of Rome’s international character was the gathering of foreigners in national communities. On the one hand, a community represented an instrument for the city and the pope’s officials to exercise a more attentive control over foreigners.²²⁷ On the other hand, being part of a group represented for a foreigner an opportunity to be integrated in the new social context, as well as to realize his claiming of distinct

²²⁴ According to Delumeau, who bases his estimates on the 3,495 inhabitants (6.5% of the total) who have some reference to their place of origins next to their name, 16.4% of these were from Rome or in the surrounding area, 63.6% came from other parts of Italy, while the remain 20% were from outside Italy. Delumeau, *Vie économique et sociale*, vol. I, 198-199 and table. Partner calculates that 23.8% of Rome population were Romans, 57.6 % were Italians from outside Rome and 18.6% were non-Italians. Partner, *Renaissance Rome 1500-1559*, 75. Lee gives the foreign element slightly less weight, by including in the category of “Romans” those who “had reached some level of assimilation into Roman society”, thus raising the percentage of this group to 68.7% and reducing the percentage of non-Roman Italians to 24% and of foreigners to 7.3%. Lee, “Foreigners in Quattrocento Rome”, 137-140. These latter estimates are considered more convincing than those of Delumeau and of Partner by Anna Esposito, *Un’altra Roma. Minoranze nazionali e comunità ebraiche tra Medioevo e Rinascimento* (Roma: Il Calamo, 1995), 23. See also Bruscoli, *Papal Banking in Renaissance Rome*, 2.

²²⁵ Lee, “Foreigners in Quattrocento Rome”, 140.

²²⁶ Bruscoli, *Papal Banking in Renaissance Rome*, 3.

²²⁷ Fosi, “Roma patria comune?”, 27-43.

origins, that is to maintain and to affirm his cultural identity.²²⁸ Hence, a common feature of all the national communities of Rome was the strong sense of cultural identity, which found expression in the construction of separated churches, confraternities and hospitals.²²⁹ National identity influenced the urban structure of Rome itself, with streets and entire neighborhoods taking their names from the communities that inhabited them.²³⁰ Among these latter, Spanish were the largest group of those who came to Rome beyond the Alps, followed by French and Germans. As for the Italians from outside Rome, Tuscans were the majority, followed by Lombards and people from Venice and the Venetian hinterland.²³¹ The Lucchese community of Rome developed in this context.

Very little has been written about the Lucchese community in sixteenth-century Rome. A Lucchese “nation” in Rome²³² was officially founded in 1631, with the approval of Pope Urbanus VIII, who granted the Lucchese population of the city the Church of St. Bonaventura, previously belonging to the Capuchins.²³³ In the same year, the Pope approved the

²²⁸ *Ibid.* On the concept of national identity in the early modern period, see this chapter, note 220.

²²⁹ Bruscoli, *Papal Banking in Renaissance Rome*, 4. On the national churches of Rome, see in particular *Identità e rappresentazione*. The most complete studies on the national churches of Rome do not discuss the problem of national identity: Oreste Ferdinando Tencajoli, *Le chiese nazionali italiane in Roma* (Roma: Desclée & C. Editori Pontifici, 1928); Luigi Salerno, *Roma communis patria* (Bologna: Cappelli, 1968); *Le chiese nazionali a Roma*, edited by Carlo Sabatini (Roma: Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, 1979).

²³⁰ Bruscoli, *Papal Banking in Renaissance Rome*, 4.

²³¹ Partner, *Renaissance Rome 1500-1559*, 75-80; Lee, “Foreigners in Quattrocento Rome”; Ait, “La dogana di terra come fonte”; Hurtubise, “La présence des «étrangers»”; Bruscoli, *Papal Banking in Renaissance Rome*, 3-4.

²³² Documents on the Lucchese “nation” of Rome are preserved in ASLu, Opere pie, istituzioni di assistenza e beneficenza, ospedali, *Opera pia dei lucchesi in Roma* (1627-1908). They were moved to Lucca from Rome in 1915. Eugenio Lazzareschi, “Natio Lucensis de Urbe”, *Bollettino storico lucchese*, anno V (1933), 56.

²³³ The Lucchese Alessandro Cantoni, in his testament, dated 9 November 1626 and 3 February 1627, made his heirs Bartolomeo Bernardini, Carlo Carli, Marco

constitution of the Confraternity dedicated to the “*Volto Santo*”²³⁴, the relics that had become the symbol of the Lucchese identity in and outside the homeland.²³⁵ Soon afterwards, it was decided to commission some Lucchese painters with the decoration of the interior of the church, which had been re-consecrated to St. Cross and St. Bonaventura.²³⁶ Francesco Buonamici was in charge of painting the altarpiece representing an oversized image of the *Volto Santo*.²³⁷ Pietro Testa painted a *Presentation of the Virgin at the Temple* for the Buonvisi Chapel.²³⁸ Still in 1649 a hospital was built next to the Church to host Lucchese travelers, indigent and sick

Antonio Franciotti and Giovanni Battista Spada responsible for the construction of a Church in Rome dedicated to the *Volto Santo*. Cantoni’s heirs got by Pope Urbanus VIII the allocation of the Church of St. Bonaventura to the Lucchese community of Rome, on 22 May 1631. The Church, located on the Quirinal, had been founded in the twelfth century with the name of St. Nicola de Portiis. It had been rebuilt between 1570 and 1580 by the Capuchins, who had later abandoned it and moved to the Church of St. Mary Immaculate. Edoardo P. Da Alençon, *La Chiesa di S. Nicola de Portiis, San Bonaventura – S. Croce dei Lucchesi* (Roma: Tipografia Eredi Cav. A. Befani, 1908); Lazzareschi, “*Natio Lucensis de Urbe*”, 49-52; Lazzarini, *Il Volto Santo di Lucca*, 175; Ciardi, “*Lucca a Roma vs Lucca e Roma*”, 30-32; Angela Negro, “*Santa Croce e San Bonaventura dei Lucchesi; San Nicola de Portiis*”, in *Roma Sacra. Guida alle chiese della Città Eterna. 4° Itinerario* (Roma: Elio de Rosa editore, 1995), 42-48.

²³⁴ The Confraternity was instituted on 25 May 1631.

²³⁵ On the *Volto Santo* as the symbol of the Lucchese identity, see Lazzarini, *Il Volto Santo di Lucca; La Santa Croce di Lucca. Il Volto Santo. Storia, tradizioni, immagini. Atti del Convegno (Lucca, Villa Bottini, 1-3 marzo 2001)* (Empoli: Editori dell’Acero, 2003); Michele Camillo Ferrari and Andreas Meyer, eds., *Volto Santo in Europa. Culto e immagini del Crocifisso nel Medioevo. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Engelberg (13-16 settembre 2000)* (Lucca: Istituto Storico Lucchese, 2005); Stefano Martinelli, *L’immagine del Volto Santo di Lucca. Il successo europeo di un’iconografia medievale* (Pisa: Edizioni ETS, 2016).

²³⁶ Ciardi, “*Lucca a Roma vs Lucca e Roma*”, 34-35.

²³⁷ *Ibid.*

²³⁸ The Buonvisi Chapel, dedicated to the Virgin, was the second Chapel on the right. The painting showing the *Presentation of the Virgin* was removed from its original collocation at the end of the seventeenth century. It is today at the Hermitage Museum in St. Petersburg. *Ibid.*, 35-40.

people.²³⁹ National identity was preserved and expressed through the religious celebration of the Holy Cross, in September, and the civic celebration of the Lucchese *Libertas*, in spring.²⁴⁰

The official recognition of a national community was the result of the growing presence and of the increasing authority of the Lucchese residents in Rome.²⁴¹ In fact, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, many representatives of the noble families of the Republic – Buonvisi, Franciotti, Spada, Tegrini - held important positions in the ecclesiastical administration and pursued a religious career that usually culminated in the cardinalate.²⁴²

The existence of close relationships between Lucca and Rome, which led Lucchese people to settle in the papal city, is documented since the 11th century, favored by the connections along the *Via Francigena*.²⁴³ This association became stronger in the following centuries, especially in the 15th century, when several Lucchese workers moved to Rome as tax collectors for the Pope.²⁴⁴ The presence of a Lucchese community in fifteenth-century Rome is revealed by the consecration of an altar to the *Volto Santo*, which was reproduced in a fresco altarpiece in the Church

²³⁹ Lazzareschi, "Natio Lucensis de Urbe", 54; Lazzarini, *Il Volto Santo di Lucca*, 175; Ciardi, "Lucca a Roma vs Lucca e Roma", 32.

²⁴⁰ Lazzareschi, "Natio Lucensis de Urbe", 53-54; Ciardi, "Lucca a Roma vs Lucca e Roma", 32-33.

²⁴¹ Roberto Paolo Ciardi identifies another reason for the institution of the Lucchese "nation" in the will of the pope to improve the control over the Lucchese Republic. Indeed, as indicated in chapter 1, the relationships between Lucca and the Roman Church, in the sixteenth century, had been ambivalent, because of the large spreading of the heretical ideas and the defense of civic autonomy, which had led the Lucchese Republic to refuse the Roman Inquisition. Ciardi, "Lucca a Roma vs Lucca e Roma", 31-32.

²⁴² *Ibid.*, 32. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, among the Lucchese cardinals, it is possible to recall Buonviso Buonvisi (1551-1603), Marco Antonio Franciotti (1592-1666), Giambattista Spada (1597-1675), Girolamo Buonvisi (1607-1677).

²⁴³ Lazzareschi, "Natio Lucensis de Urbe", 49.

²⁴⁴ *Ibid.* Ciardi, "Lucca a Roma vs Lucca e Roma", 32.

of SS. Cosma and Damiano (fig. 19).²⁴⁵ The fifteenth-century fresco representing the sacred relics²⁴⁶ is analogous to the many images of the Lucchese crucifix that since the Middle Age diffused all over Europe, as a symbol of national identification for the communities of Lucchese merchants.²⁴⁷ Lucchese companies were certainly active also in Rome since the Middle Age: the company of the Ricciardi family, later joined by the Guidiccioni, represents a significant example in this regard.²⁴⁸ On the other hand, Rome was not one of the most important commercial markets for the Lucchese trade and, especially in the 16th century, the papal city was outside the main commercial routes of the Lucchese companies, which privileged Northern Europe and, in Italy, Venice, Genoa, and Naples.²⁴⁹ Moreover, in the census of the Roman population of 1527, the number of people from Lucca is not relevant. The Tuscan

²⁴⁵ Almerico Guerra, *Storia del Volto Santo di Lucca* (Lucca: San Paolino, 1881), 576; Lazzareschi, "Natio Lucensis de Urbe", 50; Lazzarini, *Il Volto Santo di Lucca*, 174; Mario Sensi, "Il culto del Volto Santo tra Marche e Umbria, lungo le vie dei pellegrini, alla fine del Medio Evo", in Gabriella Rossetti, ed., *Santa Croce e Santo Volto. Contributi allo studio dell'origine e della fortuna del culto del Salvatore (secoli IX-XV)* (Pisa: Gisem, 2002), 153-183. Republished in Mario Sensi, *Santuari, pellegrini, eremiti nell'Italia centrale* (Spoleto: Fondazione Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 2003), vol. 3, 1325-55.

²⁴⁶ The fresco is today in the upper Church. It was detached from the lower *basilica* in 1637, during the works of restoration of the Church. In that occasion, it was restored with oil painting. According to ancient descriptions, in the left corner there was the image of a knelled minstrel, of which only a silver shoes is today visible. Lazzarini, *Il Volto Santo di Lucca*, 174; Sensi, "Il culto del Volto Santo tra Marche e Umbria." Republished in Sensi, *Santuari, pellegrini, eremiti*, vol. 3, 1325-55.

²⁴⁷ On the large spreading of images of the *Volto Santo* in Europe, see the bibliography cited at note 235 in this chapter. Eugenio Lazzareschi mentions other images of the *Volto Santo* in Rome, in the Church of St. Andrea della Valle and of Madonna della Mercede, which, anyway, are not documented by any other source. Lazzareschi, "Natio Lucensis de Urbe", 50.

²⁴⁸ Blomquist, "Lineage, Land and Business" (1980); Blomquist, "Lineage, Land and Business" (1982). See also this chapter, paragraph 1.

²⁴⁹ Mazzei and Fanfani, *Lucca e l'Europa degli affari*; Tori, "Le compagnie mercantili a Lucca e all'estero."

community, as the largest foreign colony of early modern Rome, was mainly represented by the Florentines.²⁵⁰ Considering this information, the presence of Lucchese people in Rome, in the 1520s, was likely moderate. However, the Lucchese community displayed an increasing political prominence and a reasonable growing in number that would find expression in the official foundation of a “national” community at the beginning of the next century. Hence, the definition of the characters and of the role of the Lucchese community in sixteenth-century Rome seems to be a necessary introduction to the understanding of the best-known and most intense phase of exchanges between Lucca and Rome in the 17th century. Moreover, the analysis of the composition and of the features of the Lucchese colony can help to examine the relationships between Lucca and Rome in the most dramatic moment of the 16th religious crisis.

2.2.2 The Lucchese Community of Rome and the Papal Court. The Political and Cultural Background between Julius II and Paul III

The presence of representatives of the Lucchese Republic in sixteenth-century Rome (as with the presence of members of all the other national communities) was influenced by the succession of the popes. The

²⁵⁰ On the predominant character of the Florentine community among the foreign “nations” of early modern Rome, see in particular Arnold Esch, “Florentiner in Rom um 1400. Namensverzeichnis der ersten Quattrocento-Generation”, *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken*, n. 52 (1972), 476-525; Melissa M. Bullard, “*Mercatores Fiorentini Romanam Curiam Sequentes* in the Early Sixteenth Century”, *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, n. 6 (1972), 51-71; Luciano Palermo, “Un aspetto della presenza dei fiorentini a Roma nel ‘400: le tecniche economiche”, in *Forestieri e stranieri nelle città basso-medievali*, 81-96; Irene Fosi, “I Fiorentini a Roma nel Cinquecento. Storia di una presenza”, in Sergio Gensini, ed., *Roma capitale (1447-1527). Atti del IV Convegno di Studio del Centro Studi sulla civiltà del tardo Medioevo (San Miniato, Pisa, 27-31 ottobre 1992)* (Pisa: Pacini Editore, 1994), 389-414; Bruscoli, *Papal Banking in Renaissance Rome*, especially chapter 1, “Florentines in Rome”, 1-23.

institution peculiar to Rome, the Curia, attracted cardinals and functionaries, along with merchants, bankers and artists.²⁵¹ In this context, the election of a new pope firstly favored the arrival of people of his same nationality and secondly the coming of people from allied and protected “nations.” The importance of the Medici Popes, Leo X and Clement VII, in the consolidation of the Florentine community has long been highlighted, leading to the idea of a “Florentinization” of Rome, that is of a firm supremacy – and not only in terms of numbers – to the Florentine *nazione*.²⁵² In a similar way, the relevance and the configuration of the Lucchese community in the 16th century was conditioned by the ambivalent and shifting relationships between Lucca and the Papal court.

During the pontificate of Julius II, the presence of bishops of the Franciotti-Della Rovere²⁵³ family in Lucca represented a strong element of connection between the Republic and the Papal city. In this regard, the family Franciotti-Della Rovere certainly acted as a mediator for the arrival of representatives of the Lucchese Republic in Rome. As previously stated, this was the case of Bartolomeo Guidiccioni, whose presence in Rome was protected by Cardinal Galeotto Franciotti Della Rovere, who housed Guidiccioni as a member of his large *familia*.²⁵⁴

With the Medici Popes, the opposition between Lucca and Florence, and the involvement of Florence in the political issues of the Lucchese Republic, were key elements in defining the composition of the Lucchese “nation” of Rome. Florence sustained the rebels who, with the insurrections of *Poggi* and *Straccioni* tried to overthrow the oligarchic regime in Lucca in 1522 and 1531.²⁵⁵ Consequently, once the Lucchese government had repressed the attacks on the Republican institutions, the

²⁵¹ Lee, “Foreigners in Quattrocento Rome”, 135; Bruscoli, *Papal Banking in Renaissance Rome*, 3.

²⁵² On the Florentine community, see the bibliography cited at note 250 in this chapter. For a discussion of the interpretations of the “Florentinization” of Rome, see also Fosi, *‘Roma patria comune?’*, 31-34.

²⁵³ On bishops Franciotti-Della Rovere, see chapter 1.1.

²⁵⁴ See this chapter, paragraph 2.1.

²⁵⁵ On the insurrections of *Poggi* and *Straccioni*, see chapter 1, paragraph 1.

Medici protected the insurgents on the run.²⁵⁶ Many rebels were hosted in Florence, where they had the support of the Lucchese Vincenti di Poggio, who had entered the service of the Medici family for a long time.²⁵⁷ A large group of rebels moved to Rome, where they gathered around Vincenti Granucci, who had been one of the heads of the *moto degli Straccioni*.²⁵⁸ This community of outsiders mainly comprised of small merchants, notaries, and textile workers, who were not able to regroup, without the financial resources to support an action against the Lucchese oligarchy.²⁵⁹ Therefore, the social composition of the Lucchese exiles was very different from the social background of the outsiders of the Florentine *nazione* of Rome, which included high prelates, political representatives, and noblemen, and was supported by the Strozzi bank and the court of France.²⁶⁰

The protection provided to Lucca by Pope Paul III in the context of the anti-Florentine politics of the Farnese family led to a broader presence of the Lucchese component at the Roman Court.²⁶¹ As Irene Fosi has highlighted, “for any community in Rome, a cardinal acted as an agent of integration for his co-nationals already in the city, while his patronage drew artisans, artists and literary men towards Rome from his city of origin.”²⁶² In the case of the Lucchese community, Cardinal Bartolomeo Guidiccioni had a prominent role in the attraction and promotion of the Lucchese presence, starting with the protection the cardinal provided to his nephews Giovanni and Alessandro (1489-1552). The Guidiccioni, with their relevant religious, political and diplomatic positions, represented the core of the Lucchese circle that gathered around the

²⁵⁶ Berengo, *Nobili e mercanti*, 100-107 and 151-161.

²⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 151.

²⁵⁸ Some rebels who had sustained the *moto dei Poggi* went to Pistoia. Another group of participants to the *moto degli Straccioni*, including members of the family of small-merchants Brancalo, went to Naples. *Ibid.*, 100-107 and 151-161.

²⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 151-161.

²⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 152. On the social composition of the Florentine *nazione* in Rome, see also Fosi, “*Roma patria comune?*”, 33, and the bibliography cited at 250 in this chapter.

²⁶¹ Berengo, *Nobili e mercanti*, 160.

²⁶² Fosi, “*Roma patria comune?*”, 35.

Farnese family, whose composition highlights the complexity of the interaction between the Republic and the Roman Court.²⁶³

The Pope's protection of Lucca firstly catalyzed a wider presence of Lucchese prelates at the apostolic seat, who acted as unofficial representatives of the Republic. This is the case of the protonotary apostolic Bartolomeo Arnolfini, the datary Silvestro Dario, the bishops Gherardo Busdraghi and Giovanni Battista Bernardi, as well as Giovanni Guidiccioni himself.²⁶⁴

Moreover, the increasing authority of the Lucchese component at the court of Paul III is attested by the relevant position of diplomats such as Cesare de' Nobili,²⁶⁵ who, as ambassador of the Lucchese Republic and one of its main jurists,²⁶⁶ entered the service of the Pope in 1535. After being appointed "Senator of Rome",²⁶⁷ de' Nobili was nominated as the President of the Romagna, a position that would be assigned to Giovanni Guidiccioni as well. He was later ambassador of the Roman Church and

²⁶³ An important source to reconstruct the relationships between the Guidiccioni and other members of the Lucchese colony of Rome is represented by the *Letters* of Giovanni Guidiccioni. See Guidiccioni, *Le lettere*, 2 vol. On the *Letters* of Giovanni Guidiccioni see also chapter 3.

²⁶⁴ Berengo, *Nobili e mercanti*, 381 and Adorni Braccesi, «Una città infetta», 19-20.

²⁶⁵ On Cesare de' Nobili, see Cesare Sardi, *Dei mecenati lucchesi nel secolo XVI* (Lucca: Tipografia Giusti, 1882), 550; Berengo, *Nobili e mercanti*, *ad. ind.*; Stefano Paoli, "Cesare de' Nobili", *Actum luce*, anno XVIII (1989), 119-136; Guidiccioni, *Le lettere*, *ad. ind.*; Pietro Messina, *ad vocem* "DE NOBILI, Cesare", in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Roma: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia italiana, 1990), vol. 38, 746-750; Adorni Braccesi, «Una città infetta», *ad. ind.*; Guidiccioni, *Le lettere*, *ad. ind.*

²⁶⁶ In 1533, Cesare de' Nobili, together with Matteo Gigli, was ambassador of Lucca at the court of Charles V. Berengo, *Nobili e mercanti*, note 2, 13; Messina, "DE NOBILI, Cesare", 748-749. See also Adorni Braccesi, «Una città infetta», 273.

²⁶⁷ Berengo, *Nobili e mercanti*, 55-56; Messina, "DE NOBILI, Cesare", 749.

was in charge of delicate diplomatic missions in France,²⁶⁸ as was the Lucchese captain Nicolao Franciotti.²⁶⁹

Franciotti, who in 1537 had entered the service of Florentine exile Piero Strozzi, was in Nice in 1538 together with Giovanni Guidiccioni, following the Pope, in occasion of the reconciliation between Francis I and Charles V.²⁷⁰ The main source regarding the life of Nicolao Franciotti is his correspondence with Pietro Aretino, which lasted for twenty years (1533-1553).²⁷¹ From the letters, it is possible to follow the religious crisis of the Lucchese, which led him to convert to the Calvinist religion and to move to Geneva, after he had been exiled from Lucca *religionis causa*.²⁷² In his literary works, Ortensio Lando celebrated the intense spirituality of Franciotti, who collaborated in 1546 with Francesco Burlamacchi in his anti-Medicean project.²⁷³ The correspondence with Pietro Aretino is

²⁶⁸ In 1537, Paul III sent Cesare de' Nobili to France in order to persuade Francis I to stipulate the peace with Charles V. In the same year, de' Nobili was in France again, to discuss with Francis I the opening of the Council of Reformation of the Church. Pastor, *Storia dei Papi*, V, 173; Paoli, "Cesare de' Nobili", 132-133; Messina, "DE NOBILI, Cesare", 749-750; Adorni Braccesi, «Una città infetta», 89.

²⁶⁹ On Nicolao Franciotti, see Sardi, "I capitani lucchesi"; Pascal, *Da Lucca a Ginevra*, 40 and 58; Berengo, *Nobili e mercanti*, *ad. ind.*; Pietro Aretino, *Lettere*, edited by Paolo Procaccioli (Milano: Rizzoli, 1991), 2 vol., *ad. ind.*; Adorni Braccesi, «Una città infetta», *ad. ind.*; Simonetta Adorni Braccesi, *ad. vocem* "FRANCIOTTI, Nicolao", in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Roma: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia italiana, 1998), vol. 50, 163-165; *Lettere scritte a Pietro Aretino*, edited by Paolo Procaccioli, 2 vol. (Roma: Salerno Editrice, 2003), *ad. ind.*

²⁷⁰ Adorni Braccesi, "FRANCIOTTI, Nicolao", 164.

²⁷¹ The correspondence includes seven letters written by Franciotti to Aretino and thirty-one letters written by Aretino to Franciotti. *Lettere scritte a Pietro Aretino*, *ad. ind.*; Aretino, *Lettere*, *ad. ind.* It begins with a letter written by Franciotti to Aretino on 20 June 1533, from Padua, where Franciotti was together with the compatriot Giovanni Battista Bernardi, who had like introduced him to Aretino. Adorni Braccesi, "FRANCIOTTI, Nicolao", 163-164. On Giovanni Battista Bernardi see later in this chapter.

²⁷² Franciotti moved to Ginevra in 1570. He died in Lion, probably in 1575. Pascal, *Da Lucca a Ginevra*, 40 and 58; Adorni Braccesi, «Una città infetta», note 126, 179; Adorni Braccesi, "FRANCIOTTI, Nicolao", 164-165.

²⁷³ Adorni Braccesi, "FRANCIOTTI, Nicolao", 164.

also an important source in valuing the literary reputation of the Lucchese diplomat, who, in the 1530s, participated in the meetings of the Roman Accademia dei Vignaiuoli (Academy of Winemakers).²⁷⁴

This association,²⁷⁵ which had been active in Rome since the beginning of the 1530s,²⁷⁶ had the characteristic of a dining and drinking circle of

²⁷⁴ *Ibid.* See also Adorni Braccesi, «Una città infetta», note 80, 75 and note 126, 179.

²⁷⁵ On the Accademia dei Vignaiuoli, see Girolamo Tiraboschi, *Storia della letteratura italiana. Dall'anno MCCC al MDC* (Milano: 1833), vol. 3, 361; Gianni Ballistreri, *ad vocem* "BINI, Giovanni Francesco", in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Roma: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia italiana, 1968), vol. 10, 511; Michele Maylender, *Storia delle Accademie d'Italia* (Bologna: Arnaldo Forni Editore, 1976), vol. V, 466-467; Claudio Mutini, *ad vocem* "CARO, Annibale", in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Roma: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia italiana, 1977), vol. 20, 498-500; Silvia Longhi, "Le forme, i testi", in ead., *Lusus. Il capitolo burlesco nel Cinquecento* (Padova: Editrice Antenore, 1983), 1-56; Danilo Romei, "Roma 1532-1537: Accademia per burla e poesia "tolta in gioco"", in id., *Berni e berneschi del Cinquecento* (Firenze: Edizioni Centro 2P Firenze, 1984), 49-135; Antonio Corsaro, "Giovanni Della Casa poeta comico. Intorno al testo e all'interpretazione dei "capitoli"", in *Per Giovanni Della Casa. Ricerche e contributi. Atti del convegno (Gargnano del Garda, 3-5 maggio 1996)*, edited by Gennaro Barbarisi and Claudia Berra (Bologna: Cisalpino, 1997), 123-178, in particular 124-130; Danilo Romei, *Da Leone X a Clemente VII. Scrittori toscani nella Roma dei papi medicei (1513-1534)* (Manziana, Roma: Vecchiarelli Editore, 2007), 205-266; Guido Rebecchini, «Un altro Lorenzo». *Ippolito de' Medici tra Firenze e Roma (1511-1535)* (Venezia: Marsilio Editori, 2010), 218-219; Franco Pignatti, *ad vocem* "MOLZA, Francesco Maria", in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Roma: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia italiana, 2011), vol. 75, 451-461; Franco Pignatti, "I capitoli di Francesco Maria Molza. Storia esterna e restauri testuali", *Italique. Poésie italienne de la Renaissance*, XVI (2013), 11-67. See also "Accademia dei Vignaiuoli," in Database of Italian Academies: <<http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/ItalianAcademies/AcademyFullDisplay.aspx?RecordId=021000005055>> (accessed 6 November 2016).

²⁷⁶ The main documents on the Accademia dei Vignaiuoli are represented by some letters of Francesco Berni: two letters to Giovan Francesco Bini, dated 27 December 1533 and 12 April 1534, and a letter to Carlo Gualteruzzi, dated 7 May 1535. Marco Sabino, in the dedication to Uberto Strozzi of the *Istituzioni* of Mario Equicola, recalls the group of literati who used to gather in the house of Strozzi himself, soon after this latter moved from Naples to Rome, in 1532 (see also note 147 in this chapter). On the basis of these documents, Danilo Romei indicates, as

literati, who gave extravagant after-dinner speeches by composing and reading poetic inventions.²⁷⁷ Anton Francesco Doni attributed the origins of its name to the custom that its members had of choosing pseudonyms inspired by agriculture, from vegetables to agricultural tools, as well as agricultural subjects for their works.²⁷⁸ However, topics of literary compositions seem to have been various, and the name “Vignaiuoli” therefore had the likely value of a conventional label.²⁷⁹ The main feature of these poetic inventions was their satirical nature: in fact, the academy was one of the main centres for the development of “burlesque” poetry in mid-sixteenth century Italy.²⁸⁰ Established under the patronage of Uberto Strozzi,²⁸¹ this literary *soliditas* had among its main representatives Francesco Berni, the inventor of the satirical “*capitolo*” that would take his name.²⁸² It included other prestigious literates of the

chronological limits for the activity of the Academy, the years 1532 and 1535, although he suggests that the association might have been operating until 1537. Romei, “Roma 1532-1537”, 51-52.

²⁷⁷ Maylender, *Storia delle Accademie d'Italia*, 467.

²⁷⁸ According to Michele Maylender, Anton Francesco Doni seems to have taken inspiration for his description of the Accademia dei Vignaiuoli from the Accademia degli Ortolani in Piacenza. *Ibid.*, 466. See also Romei, “Roma 1532-1537”, 52-55 and Pignatti, “I capitoli di Francesco Maria Molza”, 13.

²⁷⁹ Romei, “Roma 1532-1537”, 52-55; Romei, *Da Leone X a Clemente VII*, 209.

²⁸⁰ Longhi, “Le forme, i testi”; Romei, “Roma 1532-1537”; Romei, *Da Leone X a Clemente VII*, 205-266; Pignatti, “I capitoli di Francesco Maria Molza”.

²⁸¹ Uberto Strozzi was born in Mantua in 1505. He embarked on an ecclesiastical career and spent most of life in Rome. In 1522, he was part of the *familia* of Cardinal Pompeo Colonna, whom soon afterwards he followed in Naples. He also became an apostolic secretary. He died in 1553 and was buried in the Church of Santa Maria sopra Minerva in Rome, as he had ordered in his will. Guido Rebecchini, *Private Collectors in Mantua 1500-1630* (Roma: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 2002), 135-140. On the role of Uberto Strozzi as the patron of the Accademia dei Vignaiuoli, see the bibliography cited at note 275 in this chapter.

²⁸² On Francesco Berni see Claudio Mutini, “BERNI, Francesco”, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Roma: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia italiana, 1967), vol. 9, 343-357, and the bibliography there cited. On Berni's poetry and the “*capitolo bernesco*”, see, in particular, Longhi, *Lusus. Il capitolo burlesco* and Romei, *Berni e berneschi*.

time, such as Giovanni Mauro d'Arcano, Giovanni Della Casa, Lelio Capilupi, Agnolo Firenzuola, Giovanni Francesco Bini, Francesco Maria Molza, Annibal Caro, Gandolfo Porrino, Trifone Benci, and Mattio Franzesi.²⁸³ As well as Nicolao Franciotti, it is interesting to note the presence of the Lucchese Giuseppe Giova, the “amenio Giovio da Lucca” recalled by Marco Sabino in the description of this literary association.²⁸⁴ The importance and the singularity of Giuseppe Giova²⁸⁵ in defining the relationships between the Lucchese and the Roman contexts in the mid-

²⁸³ The precise composition of the Accademia dei Vignaiuoli is not known. An important source in this regard is represented by Marco Sabino's dedication to Uberto Strozzi of the *Istituzioni* of Mario Equicola, which provides an account of the gatherings of the academy: «Non prima –dic'egli- da Napoli a Roma foste venuto [Uberto Strozzi], che la vostra casa fu consagrada alle Muse, et diventò il diporto di tutti i più famosi Accademici, che fossero in Corte, i quali quasi ogni giorno facendo ivi il suo Concistoro, il Berni delle sue argute facezie, il Mauro delle sue astrattive piacevolezze, monsignor Della Casa all'hora in minoribus dei suoi ingegnosi concetti, messer Lelio Capilupi, l'abate Firenzuola, messer Giovan Francesco Bini, et l'amenio Giovio da Lucca con molti altri de' loro dilettevoli capricci in presentia di vostra signoria nelli vostri musici convivii dolcemente parlavano, riportandosi tutti al giudizio di due severi Censori, cioè del molto avveduto signor Pietro Ghinucci, et del scaltrito messer Federigo Paltroni. Né lascerò di dire, che ivi i meravigliosi dicitori d'improvviso Giovan Battista Strozzi, il Pero, Niccolò Franciotti, et Cesare da Fano sopra i soggetti impostigli all'improvviso e prontissimamente cantando, riempivano i petti di chi gli udiva non di minor piacere che di stupore». Tiraboschi, *Storia della letteratura italiana*, 361. Recalled by Maylender, *Storia delle Accademie d'Italia*, 466-467. For a discussion of the composition of the Academy, see in particular Longhi, “Le forme, i testi”, 43-44 and Romei, “Roma 1532-1537”, 55-58.

²⁸⁴ See the previous note.

²⁸⁵ On Giuseppe Giova, see Pascal, *Da Lucca a Ginevra*; Annibal Caro, *Lettere Familiari*, edited by Aulo Greco (Firenze: Casa Editrice Le Monnier, 1957-1961), 3 vol., *ad ind.*; Suzanne Therault, *Un cénacle humaniste de la Renaissance autour de Vittoria Colonna châtelaine d'Ischia* (Firenze and Paris: Sansoni and Didier, 1968), 366-367; Valerio Marchetti, “Notizie sulla giovinezza di Fausto Sozzini da un copialettere di Girolamo Bargagli”, *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, T. 31, n. 1 (1969), 72-91; Berengo, *Nobili e mercanti*, *ad. ind.*; Caponnetto, *Aonio Paleario*, *ad ind.*; Guidiccioni, *Le lettere*, *ad. ind.*; Barsali, *I palazzi dei mercanti*, 463; Romei, *Berni e berneschi*, *ad ind.*; Gallina, *Aonio Paleario*, vol. 1, 503-505; Adorni Braccesi, «Una

sixteenth century must be properly underlined. A long-lasting friend of Giovanni Guidiccioni,²⁸⁶ Giova was likely introduced by Guidiccioni himself to Vittoria Colonna.²⁸⁷ In 1525, he was working for the Marquise of Pescara in the role of secretary.²⁸⁸ However, it seems that Giova also contributed to the poetical production of Vittoria Colonna, whom he followed to Ischia in 1527.²⁸⁹ There, Giova, together with Gianfrancesco Muscettola, collaborated with Paolo Giovio, who was writing his *Dialoghi*.²⁹⁰ It is possible that in Naples Giova had his first contacts with the Valdesian groups, which Vittoria Colonna regularly frequented.²⁹¹ Later, around 1538 and still in Naples, he joined the *entourage* of Prince Ferrante Sanseverino, which was characterized by strong heterodox

città infetta», *ad. ind.*; Stefano Tabacchi, *ad vocem* "GIOVA, Giuseppe", in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Roma: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia italiana, 2001), vol. 55, 427-429;

²⁸⁶ See Guidiccioni, *Le lettere*, *ad. ind.*

²⁸⁷ Adorni Braccesi, «Una città infetta», 74.

²⁸⁸ According to Suzanne Therault, Giova entered the service of Vittoria Colonna in 1528, after Cardinal Giovan Matteo Giberti, for whom Giova had been working, left Rome. Therault, *Un cénacle humaniste*, 366. Anyway, in 1525 Giovanni Guidiccioni wrote to Giova, who was in Naples, referring his admiration for Vittoria Colonna. Guidiccioni calls as a witness of this admiration the Lucchese Martino Gigli, who was in Naples as well: «Chiamo in testimone messer Martino Gigli poiché egli è con voi [Giova], acciocché riferisca quello che io dico a giudizio di questa singularissima donna». Guidiccioni, *Le lettere*, vol. 1, 151. See also Adorni Braccesi, «Una città infetta», note 78, 74. On Martino Gigli see also chapter 3.

²⁸⁹ Tabacchi, "GIOVA, Giuseppe", 428.

²⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁹¹ *Ibid.* On the Valdesian movement in Naples, see Pasquale Lopez, *Il movimento valdesiano a Napoli. Mario Galeota e le sue vicende col Sant'Uffizio* (Napoli: Fiorentino, 1976). See also the studies of Massimo Firpo: *Tra alumbados e «spirituali». Studi su Juan de Valdes e il valdesianesimo nella crisi religiosa del '500 italiano* (Firenze: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1990), in particular 13-43; *Dal Sacco di Roma all'Inquisizione*, in particular 61-81; *Valdesiani e spirituali. Studi sul Cinquecento religioso italiano* (Roma: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 2013); *Juan de Valdés e la Riforma*.

tendencies.²⁹² Back in Lucca in the 1540s, Giova became an important mediator between the heterodox groups of Lucca and Naples.²⁹³ In Lucca, he was a member of the filo-reformed communities and was particularly close to the reformers Ortensio Lando and Aonio Paleario, whom he introduced to Ferrante Sanseverino.²⁹⁴ In 1561, after considering the idea of leaving Italy for a long time, he moved to Lyon, by then converted to Calvinism. He was in Lion until 1569, when he went to live to Geneva. In 1567, the Lucchese institutions had in the meantime condemned him as heretic and confiscated his belongings.²⁹⁵ Giova's experience in the Accademia dei Vignaiuoli in the 1530s was certainly central to his intellectual maturation. It is plausible that in the academy he was in contact with heterodox tendencies that he would have investigated further. Indeed, the academy saw the participation of literates who were sensitive about religious issues, such as Agnolo Firenzuola and Mattio Franzei,²⁹⁶ and who were close to heterodox ideas,

²⁹² As is possible to know from the letters of Annibal Caro, Giova was particularly close to the secretaries of Ferrante Sanseverino, Vincenzo Martelli and Bernardo Tasso, who in turn embraced heterodox ideas. Caro, *Lettere Familiari*, vol. 1, 94 and 148-149. See also Adorni Braccesi, «Una città infetta», 96. The court of Ferrante Sanseverino was one of the main centers for the diffusion of Valdés' ideas in Italy. See the bibliography on the Valdesian movement in Naples cited at the previous note.

²⁹³ In Naples, it is important to recall also the presence of the Lucchese Martino Gigli, who in turn frequented the Valdesian groups. At that time, Gigli was under the protection of the Lucchese Francesco Cenami, an educated merchant and a literate who in Naples administrated the belongings of Bernardo Tasso and Annibal Caro. Adorni Braccesi, «Una città infetta», 74-76 and 108-109. On Martino Gigli see also chapter 3.

²⁹⁴ Tabacchi, "GIOVA, Giuseppe", 428.

²⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁹⁶ Agnolo Firenzuola re-elaborated the Erasmian topic of the equality between men and women. Caponetto, *Aonio Paleario*, 115 and Adorni Braccesi, «Una città infetta», 75, note 81. He also had a religious crisis in 1534. Mattio Franzesi had in turn a religious crisis in 1537, as it is possible to know from a letter by Annibal Caro to Benedetto Varchi. Caro, *Lettere Familiari*, vol. 1, n. 20, 45. Romei, "Roma 1532-1537", 80-82.

such as Francesco Berni and Francesco Maria Molza.²⁹⁷ Moreover, it was characterized by the participation of literates who would embrace heretical positions, such as Nicolao Franciotti and Pietro Gelido.²⁹⁸ The circulation of heterodox religious ideas confirms the character of the academies as a vital and characteristic dimension of early-modern cultural exchange. In this context, the participation of Lucchese literates highlights the essential contribution of Lucca's religious experience to the development of the religious debate at the Roman court, as well as the widespread network of connections and influences of the Lucchese heterodox groups.

In the framework of the academy, Giova dedicated himself to poetry, to the collection of ancient chronicles, to classical studies and to the collection of ancient artifacts.²⁹⁹ He came in contact with humanists such as Francesco Robortello and Denis Lambin, who used some of his codex for the critical edition of Horace's works.³⁰⁰ He also knew Annibal Caro, to whom he gave some medals.³⁰¹ Later, Giova would have given again manuscripts and works of art as a gift to Caro and other literates, such as Michele Bruto.³⁰² In addition, the academy provided Giova the

²⁹⁷ On the proximity of Francesco Berni and Francesco Maria Molza to heterodox ideas, see respectively Romei, "Roma 1532-1537", in particular 80-82, and Susanna Peyronel Rambaldi, *Speranze e crisi nel Cinquecento modenese. Tensioni religiose e vita cittadina ai tempi di Giovanni Morone* (Milano: Franco Angeli Editore, 1979), 248.

²⁹⁸ Pietro Gelido must be identified in the "Pero" recalled by Marco Sebino in his description of the academy (see note 147 in this chapter). Romei, "Roma 1532-1537", 80. Gelido was a close friend of Pietro Carnesacchi and went to Geneva after he had become Calvinist. Guido Dall'Olio, *ad vocem* "GELIDO, Pietro", in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Roma: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia italiana, 2000), vol. 53, 2-5.

²⁹⁹ Tabacchi, "GIOVA, Giuseppe", 428.

³⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

³⁰¹ *Ibid.*

³⁰² *Ibid.* See the letter written by Annibal Caro from Rome to Giuseppe Giova in Lucca, on 2 February 1560: «Una coppia di lettere di V. S. e così amorevoli, e così belle, come sono state quelle che messer Ugolino m'ha portate, mi sarebbe parso per l'ordinario un gran che; sapendo quanto di rado solete scrivere: ma, venendo accompagnate con un

opportunity of getting in touch with prestigious patrons such as Cardinal Ippolito de' Medici.³⁰³

Giova's antiquarian interests correspond with the progressive merging between the Accademia dei Vignaiuoli and the Accademia della Virtù (Academy of Virtue).³⁰⁴ The proximity between these two intellectual

presente di medaglie, (umor mio principale) e di tante in una volta, voglio che sappiate che m'hanno dato una contentezza suprema. E, oltre che mi sieno state tutte carissime, e preziose, per l'animo con che me l'avete donate, siate certo che, ancora quanto alla qualità d'esse, mi sono in maggiore stima che voi non pensate. Perché ce ne ho trovate assai buone, e alcune rarissime; tanto che il mio erario, il quale ebbe quasi il primo tesoro da voi, ora n'è divenuto sì ricco, che comincia a competere con i più famosi degli altri antiquarj: e, se la rimessa che mi promettete di Lione, è tale, spero di superarli». Caro, Lettere Familiari, vol. 3, 17-19 (n. 584). See also the letter written by Annibal Caro in Roma to Giuseppe Giova, on 9 August 1561: «Ebbi il Bacchetto; fece l'officio suo assai più che se fosse stato quel di Tebe, o di Nisa; o piuttosto quel d'Ischia, e di Somma: riempendomi d'allegrezza, e di elevazion d'animo in pensare nell'amor che mi portate, e nella memoria che tenete di me...La figura è bellissima nel genere suo, cioè tra le cose moderne. Ma moderna è ella veramente, del tempo, e anco della maniera (secondo mi si dice) del Mantegna. E avete fatto benissimo a non farlo rinettare, né finire; perché il torso così come sta, riesce meglio; e chi lo ruppe, lo fece per serbare il buono, e levarne qualche imperfezione che v'era, per essere di mano di buon Maestro. Ma io l'ho per caro, e per prezioso, per molti rispetti; e sopra tutto per la sviscerata dimostrazione che mi fa dell'animo vostro». Ibid., 63-64 (n. 623).

³⁰³ Tabacchi, "GIOVA, Giuseppe," 428. On Ippolito de' Medici see, in particular, Rebecchini, «Un altro Lorenzo». See also Michele D'Ercole, *Il cardinale Ippolito de' Medici. Contributo storico della prima metà del secolo XVI* (Terlizzi: Tipografia Giannone, 1907); Giuseppe Moretti, "Il cardinale Ippolito dei Medici dal tratto di Barcellona alla morte (1529-1535)", *Archivio Storico Italiano*, n. 1 (1940), 137-178; Guido Rebecchini, "La politica dello stile: Giorgio Vasari e la cerchia di Ippolito de' Medici", in *Giorgio Vasari e il cantiere delle Vite del 1550. Atti del Convegno* (Firenze, Kunsthistorisches Institut, Palazzo Grifoni, 26-28 aprile 2012), edited by Barbara Agosti, Silvia Ginzubrg, Alessandro Nova (Venezia: Marsilio Editori, 2013), 13-27; Susanna Peyronel Rambaldi, *Una gentildonna irrequieta. Giulia Gonzaga fra reti familiari e relazioni eterodosse* (Roma: Viella, 2012), ad ind.

³⁰⁴ On the Accademia della Virtù, see Tiraboschi, *Storia della letteratura italiana*, vol. 3, 361-362; Maylender, *Storia delle Accademie d'Italia*, vol. V, 478-480; Romei, "Roma 1532-1537"; Pier Nicola Pagliara, "Vitruvio da testo a canone", in *Memoria dell'antico nell'arte italiana*. Vol. III. *Dalla tradizione all'archeologia*, edited by

associations makes it difficult to understand the early stage of the development of the Accademia della Virtù, which was certainly active between 1538 and 1540.³⁰⁵ At that time, it met weekly during Carnival,

Salvatore Settis (Torino: Giulio Einaudi Editore, 1986), 5-85, in particular 67-74; Paola Cosentino, "L'Accademia della Virtù: Dicerie e Cicalate di Annibal Caro e di altri Virtuosi", in *Cum notibusse et commentaribusse. L'esegesi parodistica e giocosa del Cinquecento*. Seminario di Letteratura italiana (Viterbo, 23-24 novembre 2001), edited by Antonio Corsaro and Paolo Procaccioli (Roma: Vecchiarelli Editore, 2002), 177-192; Hubertus Günther, "Gli studi antiquari per l'Accademia della Virtù", in *Jacopo Barozzi da Vignola*, edited by Richard J. Tuttle and others (Milano: Electa, 2002), 126-128; Emanuela Ferretti, "Tra Bindo Altoviti e Cosimo I: Averardo Serristori, ambasciatore mediceo a Roma", in *Ritratto di un banchiere del Rinascimento. Bindo Altoviti tra Raffaello e Cellini*. Catalogo della mostra (Boston, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, 8 ottobre 2003 – 12 gennaio 2004; Firenze, Museo Nazionale del Bargello, 1 marzo – 15 giugno 2004), edited by Alan Chong and others (Milano: Mondadori Electa, 2004), 456-461; Silvia Ginzburg, "Filologia e storia dell'arte. Il ruolo di Vincenzo Borghini nella genesi della Torrentiniana", in *Testi, immagini e filologia nel XVI secolo. Atti delle giornate di studio* (Pisa, Scuola Normale Superiore, 30 settembre – 1 ottobre 2004), edited by Eliana Carrara and Silvia Ginzburg (Pisa: Edizioni della Normale, 2007), 147-203; Romei, *Da Leone X a Clemente VII*, 205-266; Rebecchini, «Un altro Lorenzo», 216-217; Enrico Garavelli, "«L'erudita bottega di Messer Claudio». Nuovi testi per il Reame della Virtù (Roma 1538)", *Italique. Poésie italienne de la Renaissance*, XVI (2013), 111-154; Paolo Procaccioli, "Un'impresa per la Virtù. Accademia e parodia nella Roma farnesiana", in Giulia Bordi and others, eds., *L'officina dello sguardo. Scritti in onore di Maria Andaloro* (Roma: Gangemi Editore, 2014), vol. 2, 191-196; Ambra Moroncini, "The Accademia della Virtù and Religious Dissent", in *The Italian Academies 1525-1700. Networks of Culture, Innovation and Dissent*, edited by Jane E. Everson and others (Cambridge: Legenda, 2016), 88-101. See also "Accademia della Virtù", in Database of Italian Academies: <<http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/ItalianAcademies/AcademyFullDisplay.aspx?RecordId=021000005041&searchAssocType=>> (accessed 6 November 2016). See also the research project on the Accademia della Virtù, or Accademia Vitruviana: <<http://www.accademia-vitruviana.net/>> (accessed 6 November 2016).

³⁰⁵ An important source to reconstruct the history of the Accademia della Virtù is represented by the letters of Annibal Caro. See, in particular, Caro, *Lettere Familiari*, vol. 1, nn. 39, 40, 40bis, 41, 46, 47 (all dated 1538) and n. 145, dated May

either at the house of Claudio Tolomei (the main protector of the academy) or that of Archbishop Francesco Colonna.³⁰⁶ However, as the Accademia de' Virtuosi had a major entertainer in Cardinal Ippolito de' Medici, who died in 1535, it must have been founded before that date.³⁰⁷ Placed under the auspices of "Virtue deified",³⁰⁸ the academy celebrated Carnival with extravagant feasts, any of which was presided over by a member enthroned as "king". The other members, called "vassals" or "fathers", rewarded him with extravagant gifts, which were accompanied by compositions in either prose or poetry about the offerings, as well as by parodic comments about Petrarch's verses.³⁰⁹ The Accademia della Virtù inherited many of the distinctive characteristics of the Accademia de' Vignaiuoli, starting from the satirical nature of its literary compositions, which were clearly inspired by Berni's poetry.³¹⁰ The paradoxical and bizarre character of this literary production was even emphasized by the choice of Carnival as the period of activity of the gathering. Moreover, several representatives of the Accademia della Virtù were also members of the Accademia de' Vignaiuoli, such as Giovanni Francesco Bini, Mattio Franzesi, Francesco Maria Molza, Annibal Caro, and Gandolfo Porrino.³¹¹ It is likely that the Accademia

1540. Valerio Vianello highlights some letters written by Benedetto Varchi to Francesco Maria Molza between 1536 and 1538, which contain references to the academy. Valerio Vianello, *Il letterato, l'accademia, il libro. Contributi sulla cultura veneta del Cinquecento* (Padova: Editrice Antenore, 1988), 60. See also Cosentino, "L'Accademia della Virtù", n. 18, 181.

³⁰⁶ The place of meeting is not sure, because sources are not unanimous. Cosentino, "L'Accademia della Virtù", 180-181.

³⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 181; S. Ginzburg, "Filologia e storia dell'arte", 153; Rebecchini, «Un altro Lorenzo», 216-217.

³⁰⁸ Moroncini, "The Accademia della Virtù", 88.

³⁰⁹ *Ibid.* See also Cosentino, "L'Accademia della Virtù", 181.

³¹⁰ Cosentino, "L'Accademia della Virtù", 181.

³¹¹ Other Bernesque literates who joined the academy were Giovanni Mauro and Giulio Landi. On Landi's presence in the Accademia della Virtù, see in particular Simonetta Adorni Braccesi, "Tra "favellar coperto" e censura di Sere Stentato [Giulio Landi], 1542: la Formaggiata", in Giuliana Ancona and Dario Visintin,

della Virtù also acquired the character of safe *milieu*³¹² in the religious debate that likely distinguished the Accademia dei Vignaiuoli, as is shown by the presence of heterodox thinkers such as Marcantonio Flaminio and Pietro Carnesacchi among its members.³¹³ On the other hand, the Accademia de' Virtuosi had a peculiar physiognomy, which made it an innovative association in the intellectual scenario of mid-sixteenth-century Rome. In fact, despite the fact that the first meetings of the academy likely had a non-official character, the *soliditas* gradually evolved into an established cultural association that appear to be quite similar to the image of eighteenth-century academies.³¹⁴ Therefore, the gatherings of the Accademia della Virtù were very different from the informal meetings of the Accademia dei Vignaiuoli, which were free from any institutional rules of conduct.³¹⁵ As Danilo Romei has highlighted, this institutionalization was such an original trait that “the rise of the Accademia della Virtù marks the beginning of a new phase of Roman culture, in which...the activity of promotion and organization of Claudio Tolomei, with his inspiration to the Accademia Grande of Siena, was relevant.”³¹⁶ Paola Cosentino wrote that, “even if the Accademia della Virtù got many features of the Accademia dei Vignaiuoli, by adopting its topics and Berni’s poetry inspiration, it marks the passage to a new stage, which was characterized by a more serious and composed attitude.”³¹⁷ Indeed, the academy cultivated a reflection on the antiquarian and literary tastes of the intellectual elites that frequented the Roman Court: from the passion for ancient artifacts and architecture to Petrarchist poetry. In this context, it moved between a serious approach towards these antiquarian and literary interests and the

eds., *L’Inquisizione e l’eresia in Italia: medioevo ed età moderna. Omaggio ad Andrea Del Col* (Montereale Valcellina: Circolo culturale Menocchio, 2013), 103-143.

³¹² Moroncini, “The Accademia della Virtù”, 88.

³¹³ *Ibid.*

³¹⁴ Romei, “Roma 1532-1537”, 55; Romei, *Da Leone X a Clemente VII*, 205-242.

³¹⁵ *Ibid.*

³¹⁶ *Ibid.*

³¹⁷ Cosentino, “L’Accademia della Virtù”, 181.

freedom of comically overturning them.³¹⁸ More precisely, satire, “rather than “demystification” or “ridicule” of a diffused fashion, was a *canonizing parody*: an “elegant dissembled homage” to the fascinating world of antique and to an exegetic practice requiring a multiplicity of philological, linguistic, historical and iconological skills.”³¹⁹ It is not surprising that the main representatives of the Accademia were important humanists, collectors and literati.³²⁰ As well as those previously named, it is essential to recall Luca Contile, Marcello Cervini, Philibert Delorme, and Giovanni Gaddi, who replaced Ippolito de’ Medici as the main protector of the *soliditas*.³²¹ After a period of crisis (to which the letters of Annibal Caro attest),³²² the academy finally evolved into an antiquarian association aimed at cataloguing the remains of architecture, sculpture and decoration of ancient Rome, through the study of Vitruvius’s work.³²³ Hence, the program of the academy, which Claudio Tolomei exposed in a famous letter to Agostino Landi in 1542,³²⁴ renovated, on a different basis, the project that Raphael had planned at the time of Pope Leo X.³²⁵ The association looked for a new patron in the person of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, who gathered a group of

³¹⁸ Enrico Garavelli, “Stravaganze di Annibale. Rappresentazioni cariane dell’amore in verso e prosa”, in *Extravagances amoureuses: l’amour au-delà de la norme à la Renaissance. Stravaganze amorose: l’amore oltre la norma nel Rinascimento. Actes du colloque international du groupe de recherche Cinquecento Plurale* (Tours, 18-20 Septembre 2008). Sous la direction de Élise Boillet et Chiara Lastraioli (Paris: Honoré Champion Éditeur, 2010), 209-234.

³¹⁹ Garavelli, “Stravaganze di Annibale”, 229.

³²⁰ The members of the academy were not permanent, but rather changed over time. Günther, “Gli studi antiquari”, 126.

³²¹ S. Ginzburg, “Filologia e storia dell’arte”, 153-154. On Giovanni Gaddi see chapter 3.

³²² In the letters to Bernardino Maffei and Giovan Francesco Leoni, dated 10 April 1538, Caro writes: «il regno della virtù è sbandato», «il Regno della Virtù è in declinazione». Caro, *Lettere Familiari*, vol. 1, 79 and 83.

³²³ On the project, see in particular Pagliara, “Vitruvio da testo a canone”, 67-74.

³²⁴ On the letter, see Paola Barocchi, ed., *Scritti d’Arte del Cinquecento* (Milano, Napoli: Ricciardi, 1977), vol. III, 3037-3046.

³²⁵ Pagliara, “Vitruvio da testo a canone”, 67-74; Günther, “Gli studi antiquari.”

scholars of Vitruvius including several architects, from Jacopo Vignola to Francesco Paciotti,³²⁶ and inherited, with new purposes, the role that had been of Ippolito de' Medici.³²⁷ In the literary field, the classicist inspiration promoting the attempt of imitating Latin quantitative metrics with the *volgare* would be carried out by the academy of "Nuova Poesia", also related to Claudio Tolomei.³²⁸

The Accademia della Virtù was frequented by the Lucchese Giovanni Battista Bernardi,³²⁹ who was the main correspondent of Giovanni Guidiccioni in his letters. Together with Guidiccioni, Bernardi had studied in Padua, where he had known Pietro Bembo and had become acquainted with Pietro Aretino.³³⁰ As a *letterato*, he moved to Rome after the Sack and joined the humanistic renewal of the Farnese pontificate, despite Giovanni Guidiccioni's attempts to dissuade him from

³²⁶ *Ibid.*

³²⁷ S. Ginzburg, "Filologia e storia dell'arte", 156.

³²⁸ *Lirici europei del Cinquecento. Ripensando la poesia di Petrarca*, edited by Gian Mario Anselmi and others (Milano: Rizzoli, 2004). On the Accademia della Nuova Poesia, see in particular 5-14 and 339-341.

³²⁹ The participation of Giovanni Battista Bernardi to the meetings of the Accademia della Virtù can be drawn from the letters of Giovanni Guidiccioni. See, in particular, letter n. 108, dated 10 December 1539, in Guidiccioni, *Le lettere*, vol. II, 23. On Giovanni Battista Bernardi see Giuseppe Micheli, "Lettere di mons. Bernardi, vescovo di Ajaccio, al cardinale Farnese (secondo i documenti degli Archivi toscani e Vaticano)", *Archivio storico di Corsica*, n. 2 (1926), 195-199; Casanova, *ad vocem* "Bernardi, Gian Battista", in *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques* (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1935), vol. VIII, 780; Caro, *Lettere Familiari*, *ad ind.*; Adriano Prosperi, *ad vocem* "BERNARDI, Giovanni Battista", in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Roma: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia italiana, 1967), vol. 9, 163-165; Berengo, *Nobili e mercanti*, *ad. ind.*; Guidiccioni, *Le lettere*, *ad. ind.*; Barsali, *I palazzi dei mercanti*, 342; Aretino, *Lettere*, *ad ind.*; Adorni Braccesi, «Una città infetta», *ad. ind.*; Pergola, "Palazzo Bernardi Micheletti a Lucca"; Guidiccioni, *Orazione ai nobili di Lucca*; Giusti, "Il linguaggio ammannatiano"; *Lettere scritte a Pietro Aretino*, *ad. ind.*

³³⁰ Prosperi, "BERNARDI, Giovanni Battista", 163. On Pietro Bembo's circle in Padua see, in particular, *Pietro Bembo e l'invenzione del Rinascimento*. Catalogo della mostra (Padova, Palazzo del Monte di Pietà, 2 febbraio-19 maggio 2013), edited by Guido Beltrami and others (Venezia: Marsilio Editori, 2013).

frequenting the “corrupted” environment of the Papal court.³³¹ Elected Canon of Lucca Cathedral, as previously mentioned, Bernardi became a representative of the Lucchese Republic at the Holy See³³² and often acted as a mediator between Lucca and the Church of Rome. A defender of civic interests, he tried to avoid the settlement of the Inquisition in Lucca in the 1540s.³³³ Succeeding Alessandro Guidiccioni (1489-1552) in the role of Bishop of Ajaccio in 1548, he actually held this office after the conclusion of the Council of Trento, when from his episcopal seat he sent animals for the Farnese park of Caprarola.³³⁴ He resigned in favor of Cristoforo Guidiccioni in 1578, thus renewing his lifetime bond with the Guidiccioni family. In Lucca, he expressed his prestige in the construction of a Palace (fig. 15), which, as previously said,³³⁵ shows a clear inspiration by the style of Bartolomeo Ammannati. The Bernardi Palace reflects the diffused reference to Ammannati’s style that characterizes Lucchese architecture in the second half of the sixteenth century and that also found expression in the decoration of the Guidiccioni Palace.³³⁶ On the other hand, it expresses the patron’s deep architectural interests that can be better understood in light of his participation to the antiquarian context of the Roman court. In this regard, Bernardi also acted as a mediator in the artistic commissions of Giovanni Guidiccioni,³³⁷ who was certainly the most outstanding Lucchese literate to join Roman academic life in the 1530s.

³³¹ See Guidiccioni’s letter n. 53, in Guidiccioni, *Le lettere*, vol. 1, 123-126, where Giovanni defines Rome as a “Babylon”. On the letter, and the political ideas of Giovanni Guidiccioni, see chapter 3.

³³² Prosperi, “BERNARDI, Giovanni Battista”, 164.

³³³ *Ibid.*

³³⁴ The reference to the dispatch of animals from the Corsica to the Farnese park of Caprarola is in Micheli, “*Lettere di mons. Bernardi*”, 195-199.

³³⁵ See this chapter, paragraph 1.

³³⁶ See this chapter, paragraph 1.

³³⁷ See the next chapter.

3. Giovanni Guidiccioni (1500-1541). Diplomat, Poet and Patron of the Arts

3.1 From Lucca to Rome: the Religious and Diplomatic Career

Giovanni Guidiccioni was born in Lucca in 1500.³³⁸ His father, Alessandro di Giovanni, was elected *anziano* of the Lucchese Republic

³³⁸ The Baptism is recorded on 25 February 1500. BSL, ms. 1115, f. 149. The main study on Giovanni Guidiccioni is represented by Carlo Dionisotti's analysis of his literary, political and religious thought, which is included, as its introduction, in the edition of the *Orazione ai nobili di Lucca* by the scholar. See Guidiccioni, *Orazione ai nobili di Lucca* (first edition 1945). Before Dionisotti's revalue of Giovanni Guidiccioni, the main studies on the literate are represented by: Carlo Minutoli, *Sulla vita e le opere di Monsignor Giovanni Guidiccioni da Lucca. Commentario. Letto all'Accademia Lucchese nelle tornate dei 28 giugno 1858 e 21 febbraio 1859* (Lucca: Tipografia di Giuseppe Giusti, 1859); Carlo Minutoli, ed., *Opere di Monsignor Giovanni Guidiccioni. Nuovamente raccolte e ordinate* (Firenze: G. Barbera editore, 1867), 2 vol.; Raffaello Fornaciari, "Una fenice fra i letterati del '500", *Nuova Antologia*, n. 23 (1873), 513-529; Alcibiade Moretti, "Giovanni Guidiccioni", *L'Ateneo Veneto* (1894), vol. II, 28-48; M. A. Benincasa, *Giovanni Guidiccioni. Scrittore e diplomatico italiano del secolo XVI (La vita, i tempi, le opere)* (Roma: Tipografia Elzeviriana, 1895); Ezio Chiorboli, *Giovanni Guidiccioni* (Jesi: Stabilimento Tipografico Cooperativo, 1907); Romualdo Sassi, *Annibal Caro e Giovanni Guidiccioni* (Fabriano: Premiata tipografia economica, 1907); Romualdo Sassi, "Il sacco di Roma del 1527 in una lettera di un poeta contemporaneo", *La gioventù italiana*, n. 2 (1910), 260-268; Fortunato Rizzi, "Intorno a un codice parmense delle rime di G. Guidiccioni", *La bibliofilia*, n. 22 (1920-1921), 154-168; Luigi Berra, "Per la dedica di un sonetto del Guidiccioni", *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, n. 88 (1926), 189-190; Ezio Chiorboli, "Il Guidiccioni, la nunziatura in Spagna e i frati bigi", *Glossa Perenne*, n. 2 (1929), 1-15; Umberto Valente, "La lirica politica nel Cinquecento. Mons. Giovanni Guidiccioni", *Rivista letteraria*, n. 5 (1933), 16-18; Ettore Allodoli, "L'orazione di Francesco

Robortelli per la morte del Guidiccioni", *La Rinascita*, anno 5, n. 26 (luglio 1942), 372-406. After Dionisotti's study, the main analyses of Giovanni Guidiccioni are represented by: Berengo, *Nobili e mercanti*, *ad. ind.*; Gino Barbieri, "L'orazione del Guidiccioni alla Repubblica di Lucca e la sua dottrina politico-sociale", *Economia e Storia*, anno XVII, fascicolo 2 (aprile-giugno 1970), 141-164; Elena Croce, *Periplo italiano. Note sui narratori italiani dei primi secoli* (Milano: Arnoldo Mondadori Editore, 1977), 119-125; Gualtiero De Santi, "Moralità, storia e «maniera» nella poesia di Giovanni Guidiccioni", *L'approdo letterario*, n. 23 (1977), 195-216; Guidiccioni, *Le lettere*; Flavio Catenazzi, "Letteratura e diplomazia nell'Italia cinquecentesca. Le lettere di Giovanni Guidiccioni", *Humanitas*, n. 25 (1980), 587-592; Antonino Sole, *La lirica di Giovanni Guidiccioni* (Urbino: Edizioni QuattroVenti, 1987); Mazzone, Umberto, *ad vocem* "Guidiccioni, Giovanni", in *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, vol. XXII, 804-806; Gabriella Milan, *ad vocem* "Guidiccioni, Giovanni", in *Letteratura italiana. Gli autori. Dizionario bio-bibliografico e Indici* (Torino: Giulio Einaudi Editore, 1990) vol. 1, 978; Adorni Braccesi, «Una città infetta», *ad. ind.*; Anna Klimkiewicz, "L'epistolario di Giovanni Guidiccioni e il modello del libro del segretario", in *Lingua e letteratura III*, edited by Stanislaw Widlak (Cracovia: Universitas, 1994), 121-131; Anna Klimkiewicz, "Guidiccioni o del petrarchismo cinquecentesco", in *Italianità e italianistica nell'Europa centrale e orientale. Atti del II convegno degli italianisti dell'Europa centrale e orientale* (Cracovia, Università Jagellonica, 11-13 aprile 1996), edited by Stanislaw Widlak (Cracovia: Universitas, 1997), 45-52; Anna Klimkiewicz, "Giovanni Guidiccioni: tentazioni manieristiche di un petrarchista", *Kwartalnik neofilologicz*, n. 2 (1997), 83-95; Maria Luisa Doglio, "Il regesto privato di Giovanni Guidiccioni", in *L'arte delle lettere. Idea e pratica della scrittura epistolare tra Quattro e Seicento*, edited by Maria Luisa Doglio and Carlo Delcorno (Bologna, Il Mulino, 2000), 105-118; Marco Veglia, *ad vocem* "Orazione alla Repubblica di Lucca", in *Letteratura italiana. Dizionario delle opere* (Torino: Giulio Einaudi Editore, 2000), 163; Mammana, "GUIDICCIONI, Giovanni"; *Lirici europei del Cinquecento*; Giovanni Cipriani, "Giovanni Guidiccioni fra Paolo III Farnese e Carlo V d'Asburgo", *Actum Luce. Rivista di Studi lucchesi*, anno XXIV, n. 2 (ottobre 2005), 105-122; Angelo Alberto Piatti, "«Ché tempo è di ritrarsi al vero lume.» Moralità, spiritualità e pentimento nelle «rime di religione» di Giovanni Guidiccioni", in *Rime sacre dal Petrarca al Tasso*, edited by Maria Luisa Doglio and Carlo Delcorno (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2005), 95-124; Giovanni Guidiccioni, *Rime*, edited by Emilio Torchio (Bologna: Commissione per i testi di lingua, 2006). For a complete account of the bibliography on Giovanni Guidiccioni, see Guidiccioni, *Rime*, 253-267.

several times between 1492 and 1501. In 1503, he was made *Gonfaloniere*.³³⁹ Giovanni was first educated in his homeland; later, he studied literature and philosophy in Bologna. After his father's premature death,³⁴⁰ his uncle Bartolomeo provided for his education in jurisprudence.³⁴¹ Giovanni studied civil and canonical law in Pisa, Padua, and Ferrara, where he graduated in 1525. In these years, he knew some of the most important literates of his time, such as Pietro Bembo, to whom he was bound by a lifetime friendship, Trifone Gabriele and Giovanni Brevio.³⁴² Since 1514, he had taken the minor orders.³⁴³ In 1528, he obtained through his uncle Bartolomeo the ecclesiastic benefice of St. Maria del Colle. In the following years, he received other benefices

³³⁹ Giovanni Guidiccioni was the son of Alessandro di Giovanni Guidiccioni and Lucrezia Nocchi. Lucrezia was the daughter of Doctor Antonio Nocchi. Giovanni's brothers were Antonio (*anziano* of the Lucchese Republic in 1546 and *Gonfaloniere* in 1551 and 1557), Nicolao (who died in 1531) and Baldassare. Giovanni's sisters were Caterina (who married Nicolao di Pietro Fatinelli) and Isabetta (who married Ludovico Arnolfini). Mammana, "GUIDICCIONI, Giovanni", 324. On Antonio, Caterina and Isabetta Guidiccioni see also chapter 2, notes 19, 25 and 27.

³⁴⁰ Alessandro di Giovanni Guidiccioni died between July 1503 and March 1505. Mammana, "GUIDICCIONI, Giovanni", 324.

³⁴¹ Bartolomeo, with a notarial deed dated 3 September 1516, undertook to provide for Giovanni's studies, over a period of eight years. According to the deed, Giovanni was obliged to give his uncle back the entire amount he had received, if he had not concluded his studies within the stipulated period. *Ibid.*, 324-325. Giovanni is also mentioned in Bartolomeo's testament. ASLu, *Testamenti*, vol. 39, ff. 337-344. See also Berengo, *Nobili e mercanti*, 51-52.

³⁴² Mammana, "GUIDICCIONI, Giovanni", 325.

³⁴³ The decision of pursuing a religious career was motivated by Bartolomeo's will. This seems to be shown by Giovanni's words in a letter to Thomas Wolsey, written in Lucca, in 1525: «Perchè dovendo io essere ecclesiastico e seguitar le lettere, non vorrei senza aiutar altri là dove sono stato aiutato io trapassare ociosamente il corso di questa vita, la quale noi dobbiamo vivere, per quanto io mi creda, per conoscere noi medesimi, e conosciuti seguitar quelle cose che sieno degne di noi.» Guidiccioni, *Le lettere*, n. XII, 69 and note 6.

through the good offices of Bartolomeo Guidiccioni, and he obtained important positions, including the vicariate of the Cathedral of Lucca.³⁴⁴

Bartolomeo Guidiccioni introduced his nephew into the household of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese (the future Pope Paul III), into whose service Giovanni entered in 1527. Between 1527 and 1530, Giovanni accompanied Cardinal Farnese in Parma, Genoa, Piacenza and Bologna, where he participated in the coronation of Charles V. Back in Rome, in the 1530s, he retired for some periods to the Farnese castle of Gradoli, as well as to Lucca, where he dedicated himself to the study of philosophy and to literary activity.³⁴⁵ In Lucca, he wrote an introduction to the *Orazione per la pace* by Claudio Tolomei, who had been a longtime friend.³⁴⁶ Still in Lucca in 1533, he wrote the *Orazione ai nobili di Lucca*, in which he condemned the strong repression of the rebels that had followed the so-called *moto degli Straccioni*.³⁴⁷

When Cardinal Farnese was elected Pope Paul III in 1534, Giovanni Guidiccioni was raised to prestigious positions: he was appointed Governor of Rome, Bishop of Fossombrone and Apostolic Nuncio at the Court of Charles V. While working as papal ambassador, he had to face economic difficulties and the opposition of some rivals at the Roman Court. In particular, Giovanni Poggio and Ambrogio Recalcati accused

³⁴⁴ Mammana, "GUIDICCIONI, Giovanni", 325.

³⁴⁵ See the letter written by Giovanni Guidiccioni in Gradoli to Gabriele Vallato, on 3 September 1530: «Io...mi diedi con tutto lo spirito a contemplare le singolari bellezze e l'opere egregie di Platone, nelle quali sì smisurato piacere ho sentito e sento, che a me di me medesimo mi son doluto e doglio di aver mai rivolti gli occhi dello intelletto altrove. Costui (e sia detto con pace e con licenza di Madonna la Corte) séguito come ottimo duce e seguitare voglio il rimanente della mia vita, sperando sotto il suo scudo non pur tenermi difeso da' colpi della nemica fortuna, ma trionfare di lei.» Guidiccioni, *Le lettere*, n. LV, 131-132.

³⁴⁶ Tolomei's *Oration* was edited by Giovanni Guidiccioni. See Claudio Tolomei, *Oratione de la pace* (Roma: presso Antonio Blado Asolano, 1534 di marzo).

³⁴⁷ Guidiccioni, *Orazione ai nobili di Lucca*. On Guidiccioni's *Oration*, see also this chapter, paragraph 1.2. On the so-called *moto degli Straccioni* see chapter 1.1 and the bibliography there cited.

Guidiccioni of not fulfilling his diplomatic duties.³⁴⁸ After Poggio and Recalcati succeeded in persuading Paul III to reduce Guidiccioni's powers, Giovanni defended himself in front of the Pope, proclaiming his loyalty to the Farnese family.

Reinstated to his full powers, in 1538, he accompanied Paul III in Nice, where Francis I and Charles V concluded a peace agreement.³⁴⁹ In 1539, the Pope trusted Guidiccioni with the office of Governor of Romagna. He went to Forlì together with Annibal Caro, who was at that time his secretary and had been one of his closest familiars.³⁵⁰ There, Giovanni was able to quell the insurgencies against the Church government, to stop the Malatesta family from claiming the *Signoria* of Rimini,³⁵¹ and to reorganize the economic and tax management of the territory.³⁵² In 1541, he accompanied Pier Luigi Farnese, Supreme Commander of the Pontifical Army, in the expeditions against the Colonna family, which had rebelled against the salt taxes imposed by the Apostolic Camera.³⁵³

³⁴⁸ Giovanni Poggio (Bologna 1493-1556) was appointed by Paul III as a protonotary apostolic and treasurer of the Apostolic Camera. Pope Julius III made him a Cardinal in 1551. Ambrogio Recalcati was the chief of the Apostolic Chancery and a close adviser of Paul III. Mammana, "GUIDICCIONI, Giovanni", 326.

³⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 327.

³⁵⁰ The friendship between Giovanni Guidiccioni and Annibal Caro is documented by their letters. See Guidiccioni, *Le lettere* and Caro, *Lettere Familiari*.

³⁵¹ The Malatesta, ousted from Rimini by Cesare Borgia, had gone to Ferrara, where they tried to reconquer the lost duchy. Giovanni Tocci, "Nel corridoio strategico-politico della pianura padana: Carlo V, Paolo III e la creazione del ducato farnesiano", in *L'Italia di Carlo V. Guerra religione e politica nel primo Cinquecento*, 375-387.

³⁵² Mammana, "GUIDICCIONI, Giovanni", 327.

³⁵³ The Colonna family, because of its opposition to the salt taxation, had started raiding in the territories of the Roman Church, from the castles of Paliano and Rocca di Papa. In two months, the Papal army conquered and destroyed the castles of the Colonna family, which was deprived of all its properties in the Papal State. On the Salt War of the early 1540s, see Domenico Tordi, "Vittoria Colonna in Orvieto durante la guerra del sale", *Bollettino della Società Umbra di Storia Patria*, n. 1 (1895), 473-533.

Soon afterwards, Giovanni was appointed the Governor of Marche. However, he was unable to fulfill this office, as he died in Macerata in 1541 because of an ague.³⁵⁴ He was buried in the Church of San Francesco in Lucca. Upon his death, Francesco Robortello composed a Latin memorial oration, which was pronounced in the Cathedral of Lucca,³⁵⁵ whilst Annibal Caro celebrated the literate in a comforting letter to Giovanni's sister Isabetta.³⁵⁶

3.2 A Sixteenth-Century *Letterato*

The literary activity of Giovanni Guidiccioni is documented by his poems, the introduction to the *Orazione per la pace* by Claudio Tolomei, the *Orazione ai nobili di Lucca* and a collection of letters.³⁵⁷ The analysis of

³⁵⁴ Mammana, "GUIDICCIONI, Giovanni", 327.

³⁵⁵ Allodoli, "L'orazione di Francesco Robortelli per la morte del Guidiccioni".

³⁵⁶ Caro, *Lettere familiari*, vol. I, n. 171, 240-247. On the letter, see later in this chapter.

³⁵⁷ Guidiccioni, *Rime*; Tolomei, *Orazione de la pace*; Guidiccioni, *Orazione ai nobili di Lucca*; Guidiccioni, *Le lettere*. Despite his literary standing, Giovanni was not interested in the publication of his works. Before his death, the *Rime* were published in several anthologies (a complete list of the sixteenth-century editions is in Minutoli, *Opere di Monsignor Giovanni Guidiccioni*, vol. 1, 3-9). In 1557, Lodovico Domenichi edited the poems together with the *Orazione ai nobili di Lucca*. Lodovico Domenichi, *Oratione di monsignor Guidiccione alla Repubblica di Lucca, con alcune Rime del medesimo* (Firenze: [Luigi Torrentino] 1557). Still Domenichi included the rhymes in his anthology of Tuscan authors, in 1567. Lodovico Domenichi, *Rime di tre de' più illustri poeti dell'età nostra cioè di mons. Bembo, di mons. Della Casa, e di mons. Guidiccione, alle quali si sono aggiunte quelle di m. Buonacorso Montemagno da Pistoia coetaneo del Petrarca, nuovamente raccolte insieme* (Venezia, [F. Portonari] 1567). In the same period, also Guidiccioni's letters were published in different collections (see later in this chapter). The seventeenth-century was characterized by the oblivion of Guidiccioni's literary production. Anyway, some letters were published in Venice, in 1600: *L'idea del*

these works allows for an understanding of Guidiccioni's literary models and interests, the examination of his political and religious ideas, and the definition of the network of his personal relationships. Starting from these elements, it is possible to investigate the role of Giovanni Guidiccioni in the context of the contemporary cultural framework and

segretario. Dal signore Bartolomeo Zucchi da Monza. Accademico insensato di Perugia. Rappresentata in un Trattato de l'Imitazione, e ne le lettere di Principi e d'altri Signori. Parte prima. Dedicata all'illustriss. e reverendiss. Sig. il Sig. Cardinal Baronio (Venezia: presso la Compagnia Minima, 1600). In the eighteenth century, Guidiccioni's poems were published in, at least, seven editions: *Rime*, edited by Agostino Gobbi (Bologna: presso Pietro Barbiroli, 1709); *Rime* (Napoli: 1720); *Rime* (Parma: presso Gaspare Gozzi, 1729); *Rime*, edited by Giuseppe Rosati (Parma: 1729); *Rime*, edited by Giambattista Rota (Bergamo: presso Pietro Lancellotti, 1753); *Rime* (Nizza: 1782); *Rime e prose*, edited by Tommaso Maria Alfani (Napoli: 1720); *Opere*, edited by Pompeo Berti (Genova: presso Bernardo Tarigo, 1749); *Opere* (Genova: 1767); *Opere* (Venezia: 1780). In 1735, some letters were published in addition to the collection of Annibal Caro's epistles edited by Federigo Seghezzi. Annibal Caro, *Delle lettere familiari del Commendatore Annibal Caro. Volume terzo. Compilato per opera del Signor Anton-Federigo Seghezzi. Di cui pure è la nuova Vita dell'autore. Coll'aggiunta di CXXXVII Lettere di Monsig. Giovanni Guidiccioni, fuorchè alcune pochissime, non più stampate. Intorno alle quali veggasi la seguente Prefazione* (Padova: presso Giuseppe Comino, 1735). In the nineteenth century, before being published in the complete collection of Guidiccioni's literary production by Carlo Minutoli, the poems were included in the partial edition of Bronzino's rhymes. Angiolo Allori, *Sonetti di Angiolo Allori detto il Bronzino ed altre rime inedite di più insigni poeti*, edited by Domenico Moreni (Firenze: Stamperia Magheri, 1823), 209-231. A novel narrating a salacious love affair, which was published in Bologna in 1547, has also been attributed to Giovanni Guidiccioni (*Novella di monsignor Giovanni Guidiccione vescovo di Fossombruno*, Bologna 1547). Francesco Sansovino included the novel, without the name of the author and the dedicatory epistle, in *Le cento novelle scelte da' più nobili scrittori della lingua volgare* (Venezia: 1562). The novel has raised many doubts on Guidiccioni's authorship, which is still debated. It was published in *Tre novelle rarissime del secolo XVI*, edited by Francesco Zambrini (Bologna: presso Gaetano Romagnoli, 1867), 3-45; *Per una novella del Cinquecento*, edited by Romualdo Sassi (Fabriano: Tipografia Economica, 1903); *Novelle del Cinquecento*, edited by Giambattista Salinari (Torino: UTET, 1955), vol. I, 231-245.

his participation in the intellectual debate of the mid-sixteenth century between Lucca and Rome.

3.2.1 Giovanni Guidiccioni as a “Petrarchist”

Giovanni Guidiccioni was a renowned and appreciated poet while alive. Apart from the commemorative speeches that were written after his death, an early proof of his literary reputation can be found in the *Life of Michelangelo Buonarroti* by Ascanio Condivi (1553). There, Giovanni is recalled as one of the main representatives of Italian Petrarchism, together with literates such as Pietro Bembo, Jacopo Sannazaro, Annibal Caro, and Vittoria Colonna:

In our time this [the imitation of predecessors as the architype of perfection] has been noted in Bembo, in Sannazzaro, in Caro, in Guidiccione, in the marchioness of Pescara, and in other writers and devotees of Tuscan verse, who, although they were of supreme and singular talent, were nevertheless unable by themselves to produce anything better than what nature had demonstrated in Petrarch, and they devoted themselves to imitating him, but so felicitously that they have been judged worthy of being read and counted among the good writers.³⁵⁸

³⁵⁸ Ascanio Condivi, *The Life of Michelangelo*, translated by Alice Sedgwick Wohl, edited by Hellmut Wohl (Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999), 93. «Questo oggi di s'è visto nel Bembo, nel Sannazzaro, nel Caro, nel Guidiccione, nella Marchesa di Pescara, ed in altri scrittori ed amatori delle Toscane rime; i quali, comechè sieno stati di sommo e singolare ingegno, nondimeno non potendo da sè partorir meglio di quelchè nel Petrarca la natura ha mostrato, si son dati ad imitar lui, ma sì felicemente, che sono stati giudicati degni d'esser letti e contati tra i buoni.» Ascanio Condivi, *Vita di Michelangelo Buonarroti*, edited by Giovanni Nencioni (Firenze: S.P.E.S., 1998), 85.

This literary celebration, likely promoted by Annibal Caro,³⁵⁹ fits with the features that critics have recognized as distinctive of Guidiccioni's literary production, and that have determined his inclusion in the anthologies of sixteenth-century Italian Petrarchists.³⁶⁰

Petrarchist inspiration is particularly displayed by Guidiccioni's love rhymes. These repeat a poetic pattern that is characterized by the celebration of the beauty-virtue of the beloved woman and by the following regret of the poet, who finally praises God and the Virgin for helping him to follow the path of salvation.³⁶¹ As Antonino Sole has highlighted, this conventional scheme is characterized by a strong Neoplatonic component. Indeed, according to Guidiccioni's philosophical interpretation of Petrarchist themes, the love of a woman and of material things seems to be "a necessary spiritual experience, which must be overpassed, once, through this experience, the divine essence of reality has been recognized and the poet has understood how to conduct himself accordingly."³⁶² The image of the woman who, through the appearance of beauty, raises the soul of the poet to the different "degrees" of human glory up to God is clearly expressed in sonnet XLVII:³⁶³

³⁵⁹ Michael Hirst, recalling a hypothesis of Johannes Wilde, suggests that Annibal Caro might have acted as reviser – or even "ghost writer" – of Condivi's *Life of Michelangelo*. Accordingly, Hirst believes that the inclusion of the name of Giovanni Guidiccioni among the poets who follow Petrarch – which had puzzled Wilde – was decided by Annibal Caro, because of his friendship with Giovanni Guidiccioni. Michael Hirst, "Michelangelo and his First Biographers", in *Lectures and Memoirs. Proceedings of the British Academy*, vol. 94, 72. See also Johannes Wilde, *Michelangelo. Six Lectures* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), 12

³⁶⁰ For a complete overview of ancient and contemporary anthologies, see Guidiccioni, *Rime*.

³⁶¹ Sole, *La lirica di Giovanni Guidiccioni*, 41-51.

³⁶² «Un'esperienza spirituale necessaria, ma da superare, una volta compresa, anche per suo tramite, l'essenza divina del reale, da cui la condotta dell'uomo deve trarre norma.» *Ibid.*, 37.

³⁶³ Sonnet n. 39 in the edition by Emilio Torchio. Guidiccioni, *Rime*, 43. Antonino Sole highlights that, in the cited sonnet, "gradi" ("degrees") translate, with a

Fidi specchi de l'alma, occhi lucenti,
 Che co' dolci, amorosi et chiari lampi
 M'aprite 'l cor perché del foco avampi
 Ch'arde et alluma le più nobel menti,
 Io, co i pensier nel vostro raggio intenti,
 Cerco dov'orma di virtù si stampi,
 Per far, s'avien che da l'invidia scampi
 Chiari i miei dì poi che saranno spenti.
 Ché splendon sì l'alme faville vive
 Ch'io veggio piani i gradi ond'a la rara
 Gloria con bel triumpho huom talhor sale,
 Et leggio in lettere d'or, ch'ivi entro scrive
 Amor e 'ntenta la virtù le 'mpara:
 «Miri in noi sol chi 'l divino pregio vale».

The close association between Petrarchist poetry and Platonism that characterizes Guidiccioni's rhymes is also conveyed in some letters. In a letter to Giuseppe Giova,³⁶⁴ written in 1525, Giovanni described with these words three sonnets of Vittoria Colonna that he had received:

I saw the three wonderful sonnets that Her Ladyship
 [Vittoria Colonna] sent me; they made me think that
 the spirit not only of Petrarch but also of Plato has
 flown in that saint breast.³⁶⁵

precise Platonic word, the concept that Petrarch had expressed with "scala" ("staircase"): it is a little, but significant linguistic evidence of Guidiccioni's philosophical inspiration. Sole, *La lirica di Giovanni Guidiccioni*, 46-47.

³⁶⁴ On Giuseppe Giova, see chapter 2.2.2.

³⁶⁵ «Io ho veduti li tre sonetti meravigliosi che sua Eccellenza [Vittoria Colonna] mi ha mandati, i quali hanno fatto credere che lo spirito, non dico solo del Petrarca, ma di Platone, sia volato in quel santo petto». Guidiccioni, *Le lettere*, vol. 1, 127. On the association between Petrarch and Plato in this letter, see Sole, *La lirica di Giovanni Guidiccioni*, 28-29.

The marriage between Petrarchism and neo-Platonism, which in the 16th century was especially expressed by “spiritual Petrarchism”,³⁶⁶ found a normative model in the *Asolani* (1505) by Pietro Bembo.³⁶⁷ Guidiccioni’s adhesion to Bembo’s theories³⁶⁸ was an early and definitive choice. In Padua, Giovanni was among the number of young literates who, between 1525 and 1530, supported Bembo’s project of promoting the elaboration of a new literary production. This group included, among others, Bernardo Tasso, Giovanni della Casa, and Benedetto Varchi. They were the addressee and main executor of the proposal of a different “Classicism” in literature: one not to be based on the use of classical language of Latin but instead on the creation of a noble literary *volgare*.³⁶⁹ Claudio Tolomei offers a contemporary evidence of the centrality of Giovanni Guidiccioni in the development of these literary discussions. In a letter to Agnolo Firenzuola, dated 1529, he invited the Tuscan literate to join the debate on Italian language that had been raised by several intellectuals under the guidance of Pietro Bembo. Among these, Tolomei recalled Luigi Priuli, Giovan Giorgio Trissino, Francesco Maria

³⁶⁶ For an overview of the topic, see, in particular, Abigail Brundin, *Vittoria Colonna and the Spiritual Poetics of the Italian Reformation* (New York: Ashgate, 2008).

³⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 7.

³⁶⁸ The bibliography on Bembo’s poetical theory is obviously extended. See, at least: Pietro Bembo, *Prose e Rime*, edited by Carlo Dionisotti (Torino: UTET, 1992) and Carlo Dionisotti, *Scritti sul Bembo*, edited by Claudio Velia (Torino: Einaudi, 2002). For an overview of “Petrarchist” poetry in sixteenth-century Italy, see: *Petrarca e il Petrarchismo. Atti del terzo Congresso dell’Associazione internazionale per gli studi di lingua e letteratura italiana (Aix-en-Provence e Marsiglia, 31 marzo-5 aprile 1959)* (Bologna: Minerva, 1961); Luigi Baldacci, *Il Petrarchismo italiano nel Cinquecento* (Padova: Liviana, 1974); Marziano Guglielminetti, ed., *Petrarca e il petrarchismo. Un’ideologia della letteratura* (Alessandria: Edizioni dell’Orso, 1994); *Lirici europei del Cinquecento*. On the *Asolani* and their cultural influences, see in particular Lina Bolzoni, *Il cuore di cristallo. Ragionamenti d’amore, poesia e ritratto nel Rinascimento* (Torino: Giulio Einaudi editore, 2010).

³⁶⁹ Guidiccioni, *Orazione ai nobili di Lucca*, 29-30. On Pietro Bembo’s circle in Padua see, in particular, *Pietro Bembo e l’invenzione del Rinascimento*.

Molza, Antonio Brocardo, an unidentified Benassai, and Giovanni Guidiccioni. Guidiccioni, together with Tolomei, praised Firenzuola for sustaining the linguistic positions of Bembo's followers.³⁷⁰ The letter, written from Bologna, is a significant document of the literary gatherings that took place in that city, during the meeting between Paul III and Charles V in 1530.³⁷¹ As has been noted, this occasion was a key moment for the success of Bembo's literary ideas against the proposal, sustained by Piero Valeriano, of a literary language that should have been ennobled by the inspiration of Latin.³⁷²

Guido Rebecchini has highlighted the centrality of the court of Ippolito de' Medici in Rome in the 1530s for the continuation of the linguistic discussions that had been begun in the years around the Sack of Rome and had been especially debated in Bologna during the reconciliation between the Pope and the Emperor.³⁷³ In particular, the court of Ippolito represented an important experience for the creation of a *volgare*

³⁷⁰ Letter written by Claudio Tolomei in Bologna to Agnolo Firenzuola, on 7 November 1531: «Ricordatevi Firenzuola di quel concilio? Quando noi per istrigar molti dubbii della lingua nostra lo tentammo in Roma? Ma la malagevolezza di raccogliere molti huomini dotti ch'erano sparsi per Italia ce lo fece intralasciare. Qui hor di nuovo si pone innanzi, ch'essendoci venuto il Bembo guida e maestro di questa lingua, non è bene che si perda sì bella occasione, ecci poi una selva di gentili ingegni, il Priolo dico, il Trissino, il Molsa, il Guidiccione, il Broccardo, il Broccardo, e molti altri ch'ogni giorno con la lingua e con la penna si fanno illustri. Ma la somma e 'l fondamento è nel Bembo. A me parrebbe che, se bene havete sprezzato il concilio che fanno insieme il papa e l'imperatore, voi almeno apprezzaste il nostro, anzi il vostro dico, che prima in Roma lo poneste innanzi e più ch'altri l'affrettavate. Il Guidiccione, il Benassai e io (o ci fusse l'Alamanno) ve ne preghiamo, che se pur con questi Lombardi facessimo quistione, sappiam certo che v'haverem da la nostra». The letter is quoted from Rebecchini, «Un altro Lorenzo», note 5, 192-193, where the date of the letter is also discussed.

³⁷¹ Rebecchini, «Un altro Lorenzo», 191-194. On the linguistic debate in the years around 1530, see *Discussioni linguistiche del Cinquecento* and Dionisotti, *Gli umanisti e il volgare*.

³⁷² On the success of Bembo's proposal against other linguistic solutions, see, in particular, Dionisotti, *Scritti sul Bembo*.

³⁷³ Rebecchini, «Un altro Lorenzo», in particular chapter VIII "Le cene dei poeti", 191-219.

literature, which was mainly based on Bembo's theories and represented by both a Petrarchist poetry and a parodic literary production.³⁷⁴ Giovanni Guidiccioni, who had been acquainted with Ippolito de' Medici since at least his first coming to Rome,³⁷⁵ was part of the intellectual circle gathering around the Florentine Cardinal, which had a significant form of expression in the meetings of the *Accademia della Virtù*.³⁷⁶ The reference to the gatherings of the academy in Guidiccioni's letters³⁷⁷ allows for a deeper understanding of his literary interests, which, clearly oriented toward Petrarchism, also shared the satirical culture of the Roman context.³⁷⁸ At the same time, the contribution of Giovanni to the literary production of the academy casts light on that cultural environment, which, also after the death of Ippolito de' Medici in 1535, made an essential contribution to the success of *volgare* literature.³⁷⁹ Indeed, as has been noted, at the end of the 1530s, this gathering was under the direct influence of Pietro Bembo, who had been in Rome since 1539. This was a time when Bembo was also particularly close to Vittoria Colonna.³⁸⁰

³⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 193.

³⁷⁵ Ippolito de' Medici is mentioned with affection in Guidiccioni's letters. See, in particular, the letter written by Giovanni to Ippolito in 1527-1528, in Guidiccioni, *Le lettere*, n. VIII, 63-64.

³⁷⁶ On the *Accademia della Virtù* see chapter 2.2.2. On the participation of Giovanni Guidiccioni to the meetings of the academy, see Minutoli, *Sulla vita e le opere di Monsignor Giovanni Guidiccioni*, 41 and Adorni Braccesi, «Una città infetta», 75, note 80.

³⁷⁷ See the reference to the parodic production of the *Accademia* in Guidiccioni, *Le lettere*, vol. II, n. 108, 23 and 139, 51. In particular, in letter 108, to Giovanni Battista Bernardi, Giovanni recalls the "allegra brigata," and two of its members, "Satirone" and "Ganascione." In letter 139, also to Giovanni Battista Bernardi, he sends his friend a "lettera faceta" (humorous letter) destined to another member of the academy, *Fra' Baccio*.

³⁷⁸ It is important to recall that Giovanni Guidiccioni also composed some satires.

³⁷⁹ S. Ginzburg, "Filologia e storia dell'arte", 188-189.

³⁸⁰ Carlo Dionisotti, "Appunti sul Bembo e Vittoria Colonna", in *Scritti sul Bembo*, 115-140; Simoncelli, "Pietro Bembo e l'evangelismo italiano".

Moving in these cultural backgrounds, Giovanni developed a free approach to Bembo's ideas. This attitude not only led him to deepen the interpretation of Petrarchism in philosophical terms, but also determined his original revision of Bembo's linguistic theories.³⁸¹ In this regard, the poetry of Giovanni Guidiccioni shows a peculiar trait in the selection of a diversified Petrarchist language: one to be mainly based on Petrarch, but simultaneously to be open to different linguistic sources.³⁸² This poetical awareness is in turn displayed in some letters. In a letter to his Petrarchist friend Antonio Minturno,³⁸³ written from Rome in 1531,³⁸⁴ Giovanni declared that stylistic perfection could be reached through a "learned and free stylistic choice."³⁸⁵ As imitation had to be meant as a selection of the best that could be found in the good writers, it produced a "varied style":

I believe being locked up in the circle of Petrarch and Boccaccio is despicable...As we must consider that they did not say everything; and if they had written more and on different subjects, they would have used other expressions and other words... Do not we see many ancient poets, historians and famous orators to be good and nevertheless to follow

³⁸¹ The bibliography on the linguistic debate in sixteenth-century Italy is extended. See, at least: *Discussioni linguistiche del Cinquecento*, edited by Mario Pozzi (Torino: UTET, 1996); Dionisotti, *Scritti sul Bembo*; Carlo Dionisotti, *Gli umanisti e il volgare tra Quattro e Cinquecento* (Milano: 5 Continents, 2003).

³⁸² Sole, *La lirica di Giovanni Guidiccioni*, 21- 27; Mammana, "GUIDICCIONI, Giovanni", 328.

³⁸³ Antonio Sebastiano Minturno (1500-1574) studied philosophy in Naples. Later, he moved to Pisa, where he knew Giovanni Guidiccioni. He lived in Rome, Naples and Sicily, looking for the protection of eminent patrons. He was created Bishop of Ugenta, participated to the Council of Trento and was later elected Bishop of Crotone. He wrote some treatises of poetics: *De Poeta* (1559) and *Arte Poetica* (published in 1725). Guidiccioni, *Le lettere*, note 1, 165.

³⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, n. 10, 165-169.

³⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 23.

different paths? And is not a varied style praiseworthy, and maybe the most commendable?³⁸⁶

Giovanni also expressed an original position on the style and use of the Italian *volgare* in the letter to Vincenzo Buonvisi, which he wrote in 1533 and published the following year as an introduction to the *Orazione per la pace* by Claudio Tolomei.³⁸⁷

Giovanni Guidiccioni had been acquainted with Claudio Tolomei, since the period of his first Roman sojourn.³⁸⁸ He was certainly influenced by the literary interests of his older friend, and especially by Tolomei's attempt to transfer the forms of ancient Latin literature to the new Italian *volgare*.³⁸⁹ However, he seems not to have been focused on the linguistic and formal issues of the debate on the imitation of the ancient models. In particular, he did not devote himself to the problem of applying Latin quantitative prosody to Italian poetry, which Tolomei presented in *Versi et regole de la nuova poesia toscana* (1539).³⁹⁰ Guidiccioni instead reflected

³⁸⁶ «Conciossiacosaché io reputi esser viltà lo star sempre rinchiuso nel circolo del Petrarca e del Boccaccio...Perché noi dobbiamo pensare che essi non dissero ogni cosa, e che se più lungamente e d'altre materie avessero scritto, averiano usato altre locuzioni e altre parole...Non veggiamo noi tanti antichi poeti, istorici, e oratori di gran nome, tutti esser buoni, e nondimeno tutti camminare per diverse vie? E può ella essere se non laude grande, e forse la maggiore, il fare uno stil misto?». *Ibid.*, 166-167.

³⁸⁷ Tolomei, *Orazione de la pace* (without page numbers). The letter was likely written in Lucca at the beginning of 1533. Mammana, "GUIDICCIONI, Giovanni", 325 and Guidiccioni, *Orazione ai nobili di Lucca*, 35. Vincenzo Buonvisi (1500-1573) was member of one of the most powerful families of Lucca. Buonvisi's companies were active in France, in the Flanders, in England, and run their business all over Europe (see also chapter 1, paragraph 1). Vincenzo Buonvisi had a decisive political role in sixteenth-century Lucca and Giovanni Guidiccioni dedicated five of his political sonnets to him. Michele Luzzati, *ad vocem* "BUONVISI, Vincenzo", in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Roma, Istituto dell'Enciclopedia italiana, 1972), vol. 15, 357-359; Guidiccioni, *Le lettere*, vol. I, note 1, 140;

³⁸⁸ Guidiccioni, *Orazione ai nobili di Lucca*, 32.

³⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 32-33.

³⁹⁰ *Lirici europei del Cinquecento*, 349-352.

on the use and utility of Italian language, which in his opinion could be reenergized by the inspiration of classical genres. The *Introduction* to Tolomei's *Orazione* is a significant document in this regard.

Recalling the position of Tolomei himself, who claimed to have composed the *Oration* to show how Tuscan language could express noble concepts, Guidiccioni defended the use of Italian instead of Latin in orations and political documents. In his opinion, the *volgare* oration proved to be more useful and effective, because it was more widely understandable than the Latin discourse, which was intelligible only to a few intellectuals.³⁹¹ On the other hand, as the new language was "lacking and unvarnished"³⁹² in comparison to Latin, it needed new figures of speech and "bright" words to express noble ideas.³⁹³ Normative reflection was an essential instrument of guaranteeing its usefulness and social convenience:

Which oration should wise men...use to harshly admonish the wicked, and worthily praise the good citizens? ...Which one should they use to appease the sudden revolts and to extinguish the fire of civil discord? The Latin or the '*volgare*' oration? Certainly, the *volgare*, which, without any doubt, marvelously

³⁹¹ «Chi dubiterà che l'uomo non riceva con più forza nell'animo il suono di quelle voci le quali egli ha apparate, che quelle che egli non sa? E che maggiormente non si risenta mediante gli affetti della lingua tra la quale è nato e cresciuto, e con la quale favella, che della straniera (ché così oggimai possiamo domandar la latina), della quale appena i dotti nel corso dell'orazione possono trarre perfetto il senso, non che gl'idioti commuoversi?». Tolomei, *Oratione de la pace*. See also Guidiccioni, *Orazione ai nobili di Lucca*, 34-36 and Mammana, "GUIDICCIONI, Giovanni", 325-326.

³⁹² Guidiccioni, *Orazione ai nobili di Lucca*, 35.

³⁹³ «È necessario...che noi ci sforziamo di cavare altissimi sentimenti e quelli illustrare con nuove figure e con apparenti e luminose parole». Tolomei, *Oratione de la pace*. See also Guidiccioni, *Orazione ai nobili di Lucca*, 35-36 and Mammana, "GUIDICCIONI, Giovanni", 325.

benefits the community, being strengthened by the useful protection of experience and doctrine.³⁹⁴

The best application of this linguistic reflection is in the *Orazione ai nobili di Lucca*, which Giovanni wrote soon after the revolt of “*Straccioni*” took place in the city.³⁹⁵

3.2.2 The *Orazione ai nobili di Lucca* and the Political Reflection

Historians have long debated time whether the *Orazione ai nobili di Lucca* was actually pronounced,³⁹⁶ whether it was written to be pronounced in front of the representatives of Lucca’s institutions (even if it was never

³⁹⁴ «Con quale orazione gli uomini savi...potranno aspramente rimproverare i malvagi, e degnamente lodare i buoni?...Con quale quietare i subiti movimenti de’ popoli e ismorzare lo incendio delle civili discordie? Con la volgare o con la latina? Certamente con la volgare, la quale fortificata da’ bei presidi della esperienza e delle dottrine...non è dubbio alcuno ch’ella porta seco utilità meravigliosa». Tolomei, *Oratione de la pace*. See also Guidiccioni, *Orazione ai nobili di Lucca*, 35-36 and Mammana, “GUIDICCIONI, Giovanni”, 325.

³⁹⁵ On the revolt, see chapter 1.1.

³⁹⁶ Alessandro Pompeo Berti, *Opere di Monsignor Giovanni Guidiccioni, vescovo di Fossombrone. Raccolte dalle più antiche edizioni, e da’ manoscritti, ora per la prima volta pubblicate* (Genova: presso Bernardo Tarigo, 1767), 10. In the 1561 edition by Francesco Sansovino (Francesco Sansovino, ed., *Orazioni volgarmente scritte da molti uomini illustri*, Venezia: 1561, parte seconda, cc. 45v-53r), it is possible to read (c. 45v) that the *Oration* was pronounced at the *Consiglio Generale*. Anyway, the information is not present in the following edition (Altobello Salicato, ed., *Delle orazioni volgarmente scritte*, Venezia: 1584, libro primo, cc. 237-245r), which claims the contrary (“non fu recitata” – “it was not declaimed”- c. 237v). Mammana, “GUIDICCIONI, Giovanni”, 328.

declaimed),³⁹⁷ or whether it was a simple “proof of concept”.³⁹⁸ Carlo Dionisotti, refusing the definition of “academic exercise”, considered the *Oration* a retrospective reflection on the historical events that involved the Republic of Lucca: it would be written soon after the revolt finished, in order to express a judgement on the past and an admonishment for the future.³⁹⁹ In any case, it is a significant document of Guidiccioni’s political ideas, other than of his literary positions.

In the *Orazione*, Giovanni addressed the government of Lucca, which was made up of those noble families that he himself represented. He severely criticized the repressive measures that the *Anziani* of the Republic had adopted against those responsible for the insurrection: the refusal of their claims was considered a danger to the social stability of the Republic and even a threat to its survival.⁴⁰⁰ More specifically, Giovanni indicated three main elements that threatened the existence of the Lucchese Republic: the oppression of the lower class by the noble families; the quarrels that divided the noble families themselves; and the diffusion of heresy, which still largely involved Lucca government.⁴⁰¹ According to Guidiccioni, in order to pacify the homeland, the noble families ruling the Republic had to take inspiration from their ancestors that once protected the masses with their ethical, political and religious rectitude.⁴⁰²

As Carlo Dionisotti has highlighted, the interpretation of the revolt proposed by Giovanni Guidiccioni shows its peculiarity in the condemnation of the commercial mentality of the Lucca aristocracy,

³⁹⁷ Benincasa, *Giovanni Guidiccioni*, 87-110, in particular 101-106; Chiorboli, *Giovanni Guidiccioni*, 87-114, in particular 92.

³⁹⁸ Cesare Lucchesini, *Della storia letteraria del ducato lucchese* (Lucca: presso Francesco Bertini, 1881), 446. Guidiccioni, *Orazione ai nobili di Lucca*, 36-37.

³⁹⁹ Guidiccioni, *Orazione ai nobili di Lucca*, 21-75. See also Mammana, “GUIDICCIONI, Giovanni”, 326.

⁴⁰⁰ Guidiccioni, *Orazione ai nobili di Lucca*.

⁴⁰¹ Mammana, “GUIDICCIONI, Giovanni”, 326. On the spread of heretical religious ideas among the noble families of Lucca, see chapter 1.1.

⁴⁰² *Ibid.*

which was considered to be a direct consequence of its disregard for culture:

This [the decadence of Lucca] results from a very bad education, as fathers, holding that the perfection of man consists in the art of trade, dismiss their children from the real learning...and, as far as they satisfy their avarice, they leave them to transgress and to be slave to gluttony and lust; and to become so much presumptuous that, without any respect of age, knowledge and order, they say and do anything they want.⁴⁰³

More precisely, Guidiccioni identified the essential condition of the survival of the Republic in the restraint of commercialism, which implied a reaffirmation of values other than economic success and a new social alliance between the rich and the poor.⁴⁰⁴ This reflection was presented in the wider framework of Lucca's historical continuity and in the moral and political crisis of sixteenth-century Italy more generally.⁴⁰⁵ Consequently, looking beyond the local perspective, in the *Oration*, Guidiccioni indicated Venice as a model of successful Republic, which stood opposed to Florence.⁴⁰⁶

⁴⁰³ «Cìò [la decadenza di Lucca] ne adviene...per una pessima educazione, conciosiacosa ché gli padri, credendo che la perfezione dell'uomo consista nella intelligenza delle cose mercatesche, rimuovono i figliuoli dalle vere discipline...e, pur che satisfaccino alla cupidità de' guadagni loro, gli lassano trascorrere e farsi servi della gola e della lascivia e venire a tanto di prosonzione che, senza rispetto di età, di scienza e di ordine, parlano e operano ciò che loro più aggrada». Guidiccioni, *Orazione ai nobili di Lucca*, 101. On the description of Lucca aristocracy as not interested to "letters," see also chapter 1.2.2.

⁴⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 54-55.

⁴⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 53-56; Barbieri, "L'orazione del Guidiccioni alla Repubblica di Lucca".

⁴⁰⁶ Guidiccioni, *Orazione ai nobili di Lucca*, 134-137. The proposal of Venice as an ideal model of State is already present in the reflection of Niccolò Machiavelli. Barbieri, "L'orazione del Guidiccioni alla Repubblica di Lucca," 163, note 67. Florentine exiles as well, after the fall of the Florentine Republic, looked at Venice

This reflection on the crisis of sixteenth-century Italy is also central to Guidiccioni's political poems. His sonnets on the Sack of Rome and the resulting devastation of Italy are dedicated to Vincenzo Buonvisi, the addressee of Guidiccioni's introductive epistle to Tolomei's *Oration*. This circumstance seems to confirm the repetition of analogous topics in the political reflections of Guidiccioni and Tolomei.⁴⁰⁷ Having their models in the literary production of fourteenth-century Tuscan poets from Dante's political works to Petrarch's political lyrics,⁴⁰⁸ Guidiccioni's sonnets develop the topic of the moral decadence of Italy, which stands out even more clearly in comparison with the glorious past of Rome:

Dal pigro e grave sonno ove sepolta
 Sei già tanti anni, homai sorgi et respira,
 Et disdegnosa le tue piaghe mira,
 Italia mia, non men serva che stolta.
 La bella libertà, ch'altri t'ha tolta
 Per tuo non san'oprar, cerca et sospira,
 E i passi erranti al camin dritto gira
 Da quel torto sentier dove sei volta.
 Ché, se risguardi le memorie antiche,
 Vedrai che quei che i tuoi trionfi ornaro,
 T'han posto il giogo e di catene avvinta.
 L'empie tue voglie, a te stessa nemiche,
 Con gloria d'altri et con tuo duolo amaro,
 Misera! T'hanno a sì vil fine spinta.⁴⁰⁹

The condemnation of the sack as a barbaric act, in stark contrast to the ancient greatness of Rome, finds a correspondence in the rhymes dedicated to the devastating episode by contemporary poets, as

as the archetype of the Republican State. Donato Giannotti represents a significant example in this regard. Guidiccioni, *Orazione ai nobili di Lucca*, 55-56.

⁴⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 42-43.

⁴⁰⁸ Sole, *La lirica di Giovanni Guidiccioni*, 11-19.

⁴⁰⁹ Sonnet VII, n. 4 in the edition by Emilio Torchio. Guidiccioni, *Rime*, 7.

Francesco Maria Molza and Dionigi Atanagi.⁴¹⁰ On the other hand, in Guidiccioni's reflection, this event is also interpreted as a divine punishment for the spiritual corruption of Italy, as is especially expressed in Guidiccioni's letters.

In a famous letter to Giovanni Battista Bernardi,⁴¹¹ written in April 1531,⁴¹² Giovanni dissuaded his friend from coming to Rome, which was presented as the core of the contemporary moral decadence:

And...I wish to leave this Babylon, which I am not surprised the barbarian sacked and looted in many places. I would rather be astonished if they had done otherwise; and I am now astonished that a worst plague has not occurred yet; since everybody is making a big effort to behave even worse than they did before the sack; as if they, and the others who were not present at the sack, and were not damaged at all, were allowed to steal and to get into every vice, because of the offence that someone, or the majority, or everyone, who was present at the sack, suffered.⁴¹³

With this violent attack on the corruption of the Roman Court, Giovanni overturned the condemnation of the scandalous behavior of the clergy from a Catholic perspective, which found expression in a Protestant

⁴¹⁰ *Lirici europei del Cinquecento*, 342-348.

⁴¹¹ On Giovanni Battista Bernardi, see chapter 2, paragraph 2.

⁴¹² Guidiccioni, *Le lettere*, vol. I, n. LIII, 123-126.

⁴¹³ «E...voglio lassare questa Babilonia, la quale io non mi maraviglio che gli barbari abbino saccheggiata e in molti luoghi guasta, ma maravigliareimi io bene se avessero fatto altrimenti, e maravigliomi ora che indugi tanto a venire maggior fragello perciocché, come che per li danni che alcuno o gran parte o tutti quei che si ritrovarono al sacco patirono, sia lecito a loro e agli altri che non vi erano, né sentirono danno, rubare e abbracciare tutti gli vizi, ciascuno si sforza di far molto peggio di quello che avanti il saccheggio faceano». *Ibid.*, 125.

background in the widespread metaphor of “Rome-Babylon”.⁴¹⁴ The criticism to the decay of the Church represents a common topic in the Catholic literature as well.⁴¹⁵ Hence, it does not necessarily implies an adhesion to the Reformed religion and it is not inconsistent with a fully orthodox religious position. In the case of Giovanni Guidiccioni, it must be considered in relation both to his criticism of the moral decadence of his time and to his ambivalent attitude towards his offices, which he often described as a suffered obligation.⁴¹⁶ Giovanni’s desire of abandoning any political responsibility in order to cultivate his literary interests seems to contrast with his attention to the contemporary political scenario, as can be seen in his sonnets and the *Orazione ai nobili di Lucca*. In fact, apart from his diplomatic and religious duties, Guidiccioni’s participation in contemporary politics was episodic and found expression in an occasional literary production. It follows that his political concern must be framed within a “literary approach to life”, which expresses a break between political thought and concrete action.⁴¹⁷ As Carlo Dionisotti has highlighted,⁴¹⁸ this separation between political reflection and impact on historical reality, which appeared to be increasingly further from the ideal model of the ancient past, links Giovanni Guidiccioni to many other literates of his time, such as Emolao

⁴¹⁴ On the metaphor of “Rome-Babylon,” see André Chastel, *The Sack of Rome. 1527*, translated from the French by Beth Archer (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1983), 49-90.

⁴¹⁵ In this regard, see the use of the metaphor of Rome-Babylon by Bishop Giovanni Stafileo: «*Quia omnis caro corruperat viam suam, eramus omnes cives et inhabitatores non Romae urbis sanctae sed Babylonis urbis peccatricis*». Ioannes Staphileus, *Oratio [...] die Veneris 15 Maii anno 1528 habita, lectorem candidum haud dubie docens priscos prophetas teterrimam ac lachrymabilem Urbis direptionem signanter sub nomine Babylonis vaticinatos fuisse*, s.n.t. (Roma, 1528), Aiiiv. On the attacks of Catholics against the contemporary moral corruption and on Catholic reactions to the Sack of Rome, see Firpo, *Dal Sacco di Roma all’Inquisizione*, chapter I “Il Sacco di Roma del 1527 tra profezia, propaganda politica e riforma religiosa”, 7-60.

⁴¹⁶ See, for example, the letter cited at note 8 in this chapter.

⁴¹⁷ Guidiccioni, *Orazione ai nobili di Lucca*, 40-41.

⁴¹⁸ *Ibid.*

Barbaro, Luigi Alamanni, Donato Giannotti and Claudio Tolomei himself.

The evaluation of Guidiccioni's position in the contemporary cultural debate must be complemented by the analysis of his religious ideas. The close relationship between political and religious issues in the reflection of Giovanni is shown by the importance of religion in his interpretation of the revolt of "*Straccioni*". Indeed, the *Oration* is a significant document and one of the earliest evidences of the wide diffusion of heretical ideas among Lucca noble families, which is indicated as one of the main reasons of the political and moral crisis of the town.⁴¹⁹ However, the definition of Guidiccioni's religious views is less obvious than a pure condemnation of the Reformed religion, which can be clearly seen in the *Orazione*. In fact, the historical evaluation of Giovanni Guidiccioni and the evolution of his critical success have been closely related to the different interpretations of his position in the religious framework of his time.

3.2.3 Giovanni Guidiccioni in the Religious Debate of his Time

Historical analysis has underlined the existence of two main components in Giovanni Guidiccioni's religious thought. Firstly, the *Orazione ai nobili di Lucca* contains a harsh condemnation of Reformed religion, which is carried out through a severe judgment on Luther:

I hardly know where to begin, to describe the feelings and the bad actions of some people, who, as they brought back wealth from Northern countries, in the same way learned the barbarian habits and the heretical doctrine of that terrible man, Luther, whom

⁴¹⁹ *Ibid.* See also Berengo, *Nobili e mercanti*, 258-259 and Adorni Braccesi, «*Una città infetta*», 83-84.

I do not know whether to call evil plague or infernal monster.⁴²⁰

Secondly, Giovanni was familiar with some of the most important representatives of Italian Evangelism.⁴²¹ This was especially true of Vittoria Colonna, to whom he dedicated some poems⁴²² and who was his correspondent in the letters.⁴²³ Moreover, he displayed great admiration for Bernardino Ochino, who was in turn the dedicatee of some of Guidiccioni's rhymes.⁴²⁴ In the situation of "doctrinal fluidity", which

⁴²⁰ «Io non so donde possa dar principio a raccontare i sentimenti e l'opere perfide di alcuni gli quali, sì come dalle ultramontane nazioni hanno riportato le ricchezze, così hanno ancora appresi i costumi barbari e l'eretiche discipline di quello, il quale non so s'io debbo domandare venenosa peste o mostro infernale, pessimo Lutero». Guidiccioni, *Orazione ai nobili di Lucca*, 125.

⁴²¹ For a discussion of "Evangelism" as historical category, see chapter 1.1.

⁴²² Guidiccioni, *Rime*, n. 19 (CIX) and 21 (CXI), 23 and 25. In a letter to Vittoria Colonna, dated 1525, Giovanni Guidiccioni refers to some sonnets he had sent to the Marchioness of Pescara. Guidiccioni, *Le lettere*, vol. I, n. 2, 153-154. In a letter to Giuseppe Giova, dated 1525, Guidiccioni mentions some sonnets that Vittoria Colonna had sent to him. He also analyzes some of Colonna's verses. Guidiccioni, *Le lettere*, vol. I, n. 1, 151-153.

⁴²³ Guidiccioni, *Le lettere*, vol. I, n. 2 and 3, vol. II, n. 187. Other references to Vittoria Colonna are in *ibid.*, vol. II, n. 326, 230 and 342, 249. See also *Vittoria Colonna marchesa di Pescara. Carteggio raccolto e pubblicato da Ermanno Ferrero e Giuseppe Müller, seconda edizione con supplemento raccolto ed annotato da Domenico Tordi* (Torino: Loescher, 1892), *ad ind.*

⁴²⁴ Guidiccioni, *Rime*, n. 73 (CXXI), 76. In a letter to Annibal Caro, written from Carignano, on August 1538, Giovanni Guidiccioni recounts he had listened some of Ochino's sermons, in Lucca. He describes Ochino as a very "uncommon" man and affirms he had appreciated the preacher so much that he had decided to dedicate him some sonnets, which he was going to send to Caro. Guidiccioni, *Le lettere*, vol. II, n. 101, 10-12. In a letter to Giovanni Guidiccioni, sent from Rome, on 22 August 1538, Annibal Caro declared he was waiting for "the other sonnet on fra' Bernardino" that Giovanni had written. Caro, *Lettere Familiari*, vol. I, n. 65, 115. In 1538, Vittoria Colonna also went to Lucca to attend Ochino's sermons. Adorni Braccesi, «Una città infetta», 88-109 and Gotor, «Se prima non reggi e drizzi te stesso». On Ochino's preaching in Lucca see also chapter 1.1.

Gigliola Fragnito has defined as with regard to the years before the escape of Bernardino Ochino from Italy and the Diet of Regensburg,⁴²⁵ these components are not irreconcilable. However, they have led to divergent interpretations of Guidiccioni's religious thought, starting from Carlo Dionisotti's reading.

Dionisotti has analyzed Guidiccioni's refusal of Protestant religion in the context of the condemnation of the moral crisis of sixteenth-century Italy, which Giovanni carried out in his literary works.⁴²⁶ In this interpretation, Guidiccioni considered Protestant religion to be simultaneously a manifestation and a cause of the contemporary spiritual crisis. Despite the aversion of Giovanni to Protestant Reformation and his criticism of the corruption of clergy, he refused a direct and responsible participation in the Catholic movement for an "inner" reform of the Church, which involved his uncle Bartolomeo under strict conservative ideas.⁴²⁷ In fact, Giovanni's "literary vocation", which neutralized the possibility of a direct political action,⁴²⁸ also prevailed in his religious ideals.⁴²⁹ Hence, in Dionisotti's analysis, Giovanni was not really involved in the religious debate of his time. His friendships with representatives of Italian Evangelism, such as Vittoria Colonna, Federico Fregoso, and Gaspare Contarini,⁴³⁰ as well as his appreciation of Bernardino Ochino, do not prove his adhesion with the "spiritual" movement. Instead, they illuminate the difference between the active participation of Guidiccioni's intimates in the religious debate

⁴²⁵ Gigliola Fragnito, "CONTARINI, Gasparo", in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Roma: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia italiana, 1983), vol. 28, 172-192. See also Gigliola Fragnito, *Gasparo Contarini. Un magistrato veneziano al servizio della cristianità* (Firenze: Leo S. Olschki editore, 1988).

⁴²⁶ Guidiccioni, *Orazione ai nobili di Lucca*, 21-75.

⁴²⁷ *Ibid.*, 47.

⁴²⁸ See the previous paragraph in this chapter.

⁴²⁹ Guidiccioni, *Orazione ai nobili di Lucca*, 47.

⁴³⁰ The relationship between Giovanni Guidiccioni, Federico Fregoso and Gaspare Contarini is also shown by Guidiccioni's letters. See, in particular, Guidiccioni, *Le lettere*, vol. II, n. 147 and 209.

and his neutral position.⁴³¹ Although he was not directly involved in the movements of reformation, being neither radically conservative nor heterodox, Giovanni Guidiccioni was not void of sincere religious feeling. This religious sentiment, which in the *Oration* is revealed by the centrality of the theme of Christian charity, appear to be similar to a 'Counter-Reformation' attitude, which, according to Dionisotti, marked the original position of Guidiccioni in the religious framework of his time.⁴³²

Dionisotti's interpretation has never been radically questioned and has represented the point of reference for successive readings of Guidiccioni's cultural positions.⁴³³ However, recent analyses of Guidiccioni's role in sixteenth-century religious debate have focused their attention on the relationships between the literate and Italian Evangelism. These studies have underlined the closeness between Giovanni and some representatives of the "spiritual" movement, to such an extent that the literate has been included in the group of "*spirituali*". In this regard, Barbara Agosti has highlighted the long-lasting friendship (more than a generic acquaintance) between the literate and Vittoria Colonna.⁴³⁴ Furthermore, Ambra Moroncini has emphasized Guidiccioni's criticism of the moral failings of the Church and his admiration for Bernardino Ochino, in order to support the hypothesis of Annibal Caro's proximity to heretical ideas. In fact, Caro might also have adopted heretical positions through the influence of his Lucchese friend and patron.⁴³⁵

A crucial element in reconsidering the historical role of Giovanni Guidiccioni has been represented by the development of studies into

⁴³¹ Guidiccioni, *Orazione ai nobili di Lucca*, 48.

⁴³² *Ibid.*, 72-75.

⁴³³ See, in particular, Berengo, *Nobili e mercanti*, 258-260; Sole, *La lirica di Giovanni Guidiccioni*, 11-19; Guidiccioni, *Le lettere*, 9-30.

⁴³⁴ Barbara Agosti, "Intorno alla cappella Guidiccioni in Santo Spirito in Sassia", in «*Conosco un ottimo storico dell'arte...*» *Per Enrico Castelnuevo. Scritti di allievi e amici pisani* (Pisa: Edizioni della Normale Superiore di Pisa, 2012), 259-265.

⁴³⁵ Moroncini, "The Accademia della Virtù", 94.

Lucca's religious background.⁴³⁶ At the same time, the progression of studies on the heretical movements in Italy, with specific attention paid to the features and composition of the "spiritual" group,⁴³⁷ has added new material for discussion and interpretation.

Simonetta Adorni Braccesi, without calling into question the historical readings of Guidiccioni's religious positions, has highlighted the network of his intellectual relationships. In particular, the scholar has pointed out Giovanni's acquaintance (in Veneto, Naples, and Lucca) with circles that were particularly sensitive to the religious debate.⁴³⁸ In Padua, not only did he know Pietro Bembo, who had come to be closely associated with the "spiritual" movement since the end of the 1530s,⁴³⁹ but he also became familiar with Gian Matteo Giberti, whose efforts of religious reformation have long been highlighted.⁴⁴⁰ Moreover, among the followers of Bembo and Giberti, Giovanni knew intellectuals who would play a significant role in the debate on the reformation of the Church by embracing heterodox positions. This is particularly true for particular Marcantonio Flaminio.⁴⁴¹ In Naples, where he accompanied Charles V in 1535, he spent time with Vittoria Colonna and became acquainted with Bernardo Tasso, who underwent a religious conversion

⁴³⁶ See, in particular, Adorni Braccesi, «Una città infetta».

⁴³⁷ For an overview of the studies on the heretical movements, see chapter 1.1.

⁴³⁸ Adorni Braccesi, «Una città infetta», 50.

⁴³⁹ On this interpretation of Bembo's religious beliefs, see Paolo Simoncelli, "Pietro Bembo e l'evangelismo italiano", *Critica Storica*, anno XV (marzo 1978), 1-63 and Simoncelli, *Evangelismo italiano del Cinquecento*.

⁴⁴⁰ See, in particular, Prosperi, *Tra evangelismo e controriforma*; Massimo Firpo and Dario Marcatto, eds., *Il processo inquisitoriale del cardinal Giovanni Morone. Edizione critica* (Roma: Istituto Storico Italiano per l'Età Moderna e Contemporanea, 1981-1995), 6 vol., *ad ind.*; Adriano Prosperi, "La figura del vescovo tra Quattrocento e Cinquecento: persistenze, disagi e novità", in *Storia d'Italia. Annali* 9. *La Chiesa e il potere politico* (Torino: Giulio Einaudi editore, 1986), 216-262; Adriano Prosperi, *Tribunali della coscienza. Inquisitori, confessori, missionari* (Torino: Giulio Einaudi editore, 2009), *ad ind.*

⁴⁴¹ Adorni Braccesi, «Una città infetta», 65, note 48. Flaminio is also a correspondent of Giovanni Guidiccioni, in his letters. See, Guidiccioni, *Le lettere*, vol. I, n. XXXVIII.

under the influence of the Marchioness of Pescara.⁴⁴² Among the Lucchese nobles of his generation, Giovanni was familiar with Vincenzo Buonvisi, the dedicatee of his political sonnets and of the introductive epistle to Tolomei's *Orazione*, who seems to have been in turn influenced by heretical ideas. Indeed, Buonvisi was denounced as "heretical" together with Francesco Micheli.⁴⁴³ Giovanni was also a close friend of Martino Gigli (who was one of the main representatives of Lucca "spiritual" movement)⁴⁴⁴ and of Giuseppe Giova (who was introduced to Vittoria by Guidiccioni himself Colonna and, after being an important element of connection between the Reformed groups of Lucca and Naples, finally converted to Calvinism).⁴⁴⁵ Furthermore, Giovanni was acquainted with Lucchese women who had deep religious interests, such as Camilla Bernardi and Margherita Bernardini.⁴⁴⁶

These relationships are documented by Guidiccioni's letters, which are an important source when attempting to better understand the nature of Guidiccioni's acquaintance with some of the most eminent representatives of Italian Evangelism. These included Reginald Pole, Gasparo Contarini, and, in particular, Federigo Fregoso, whom the

⁴⁴² Adorni Braccesi, «*Una città infetta*», 96.

⁴⁴³ On Vincenzo Buonvisi, see note 387 in this chapter and the bibliography there cited. On the religious ideas of Vincenzo Buonvisi, and on the accusation of heresy against him, see Berengo, *Nobili e mercanti*, 436-438 and Adorni Braccesi, «*Una città infetta*», 226-226.

⁴⁴⁴ Adorni Braccesi, «*Una città infetta*», in particular 74-75. According to Simonetta Adorni Braccesi, Guidiccioni was responsible for introducing Martino Gigli and Ludovico Buonvisi - another fervent "Erasmian"- to the spiritual circles of Naples and Veneto. *Ibid.*, 50. On Martino Gigli, see also chapter 2.2.2.

⁴⁴⁵ On Giuseppe Giova, see chapter 2.2.2.

⁴⁴⁶ Camilla Bernardi and Margherita Bernardini were both daughters of Michele Guinigi. Margherita Bernardini married, in 1519, Martino Bernardini. Camilla, after the death of his husband, Jacopo Bernardi, was ordained and promoted the constitution of new religious communities. Adorni Braccesi, «*Una città infetta*», 67, note 52 and 72-73. On the relationship between Giovanni Guidiccioni and the two women, see also the letter that Giovanni wrote from Rome, on 22 March 1534, to Camilla Bernardi. In the letter, he mentions also Camilla's sister, Margherita. Guidiccioni, *Le lettere*, vol. I, n. LXV, 147.

Lucchese literate favored in his election to the Cardinalate.⁴⁴⁷ The letters also highlight the centrality of the Roman context as a network of cultural exchange, which certainly provided Giovanni Guidiccioni with the significant opportunity to examine the contemporary religious debate more deeply. A specific reference to the circulation of “spiritual” and heterodox ideas can be derived from Guidiccioni’s participation in the *Accademia della Virtù*:⁴⁴⁸ a cultural circle that leads to the further examination of the connection between the ideas of linguistic reformation and the ideas of religious reformation, underlined by Carlo Dionisotti with a specific reference to the group of Bembo’s followers.⁴⁴⁹ It is interesting to observe that other Lucchese literates who were deeply touched by the religious crisis, such as Giuseppe Giova and Nicolao Franciotti, were associated with this academic background:⁴⁵⁰ a circumstance that prompts the description of the Lucchese presence as a

⁴⁴⁷ See, in this regard, the letter written to Paolo III from Agrobio, on 14 December 1539, which is also a proof of Guidiccioni’s admiration for Federico Fregoso: «E perché ho più volte fatta fede a Vostra Beatitudine della bontà, della dottrina e della sperienza di questo uomo raro, e con ogni umiltà ricordatoli e supplicatola che, poiché aveva promosse tante singolari persone al cardinalato, si degnasse ancora tener memoria d’esso ed onorarlo di quella dignità...ritraggo insomma che non cerca, né desidera il cappello né altra grandezza. Ma quando la Beatitudine Vostra gli comandi che lo accetti, lo farà per obbedienza». Guidiccioni, *Le lettere*, vol. II, n. 110, 25. In the letter to Fregoso, written from Forlì on 3 January 1540, Giovanni congratulates with him for the election to the Cardinalate. *Ibid.*, n. 147, 59. Another evidence of Guidiccioni’s involvement in Fregoso’s election as Cardinal is the letter to Vittoria Colonna, written from Forlì on 4 February 1540: «Dell’essaltazione del cardinal Fregoso non si debbe saper grado se non al giudizio di Nostro Signore e alle virtù di Sua Signoria Rev. Tuttavolta l’obbligo che l’E. V. dice d’averne meco per questo m’è gratissimo, perché vedo che di quel poco che io ci ho fatto coll’affezione e colli buoni uffici è stato accettato e conosciuto, benchè n’abbi soverchio premio». *Ibid.*, n. 187, 93.

⁴⁴⁸ On the circulation of heterodox ideas in the *Accademia della Virtù*, see Moroncini, “The *Accademia della Virtù*”. See also chapter 2.2.2.

⁴⁴⁹ Carlo Dionisotti, “La letteratura italiana nell’età del Concilio di Trento”, in *Geografia e storia della letteratura italiana* (Torino: Einaudi, 1999), in particular 232-235.

⁴⁵⁰ See chapter 2.2.2.

particular component of mid-sixteenth religious debate in the Roman cultural framework.

The evolution of studies of the heretical movements in sixteenth-century Italy offers another significant element with which to evaluate the position of Giovanni Guidiccioni in the religious crisis of his time: the analysis of sixteenth-century interpretations of the literate. In this regard, sixteenth-century sources seem to confirm the ambivalent reading of Guidiccioni's religious thought, which tends to underline, according to the different cases and aims, either the "conservative" or the "spiritual" component of his religious reflection.

The identification of Lutheran ideas as one the main causes of the revolt of *Straccioni* - and more generally of the contemporary political and moral decadence - connects the *Orazione ai nobili di Lucca* to the *Dialogue* of the Lucchese jurist Enrico Boccella, which is formally entitled *Religio* (1539).⁴⁵¹ This affinity in the analysis of the religious problem, in its association with the political crisis, likely ensured the dedication of the *Dialogue* to Giovanni Guidiccioni, despite different interpretations of the social responsibility of the revolt. Indeed, Boccella's reflection ignores that condemnation of the Lucca aristocracy, which so strongly characterizes Guidiccioni's *Oration* and makes the two works more opposed than similar.⁴⁵²

In the same years, Giovanni Guidiccioni was included as a character in Ortensio Lando's *Forcianae Quaestiones*.⁴⁵³ In this work, which is one of the main examples of the Reformed literary production of sixteenth-

⁴⁵¹ Enrico Boccella, *Dialogus cuius titulus est religio. Henrico Buccellio Lucen. Authore* (Lucae: Phaellus Bononiensis, 1539). On Boccella's *Dialogue*, see Adriano Prosperi, "BOCCELLA, Enrico", in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Roma: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia italiana, 1969), vol. 11, 54-56; Berengo, *Nobili e mercanti*, in particular 159-260; Adriano Prosperi, "Intellettuali e Chiesa all'inizio dell'età moderna", in *Storia d'Italia. Annali 4. Intellettuali e potere* (Torino: Giulio Einaudi editore, 1981), 181-184; Adorni Braccesi, «Una città infetta», 99-102; Guidiccioni, *Orazione ai nobili di Lucca*, 59-67.

⁴⁵² Prosperi, "BOCCELLA, Enrico", 54-56 and Guidiccioni, *Orazione ai nobili di Lucca*, 59-67.

⁴⁵³ Lando, *Forcianae Quaestiones*.

century Italy,⁴⁵⁴ Giovanni is called to contribute to the debate on civil harmony in Lucca, together with representatives of the Lucchese and Italian “spiritual” movement.⁴⁵⁵ In this context, the literate develops a reflection on social concord that recalls the topics of his *Orazione* and links the analysis of Lucca’s background to the wider topic of the moral and civic decadence of Italy.⁴⁵⁶ The presence of Giovanni Guidiccioni in the “spiritual” setting of the *Forciana Quæstiones* does not prove his adhesion to “spiritual” ideas. Nevertheless, it is important to note the use of Guidiccioni’s reflection (when the literate was still alive)⁴⁵⁷ in order to exalt the free city-State of Lucca. Indeed, in the *Forciana Quæstiones*, Ortensio Lando presents the Lucchese Republic as “the ideal combination of Erasmian religious devotion, civil concord and political freedom.”⁴⁵⁸ That is to say, he celebrates the topic of the ideal “Christian State”, which he had likely developed in *Il libro de la emendatione et correctione dil Stato christiano*, a translation of Luther’s *An den christlichen Adel deutscher Nation*.⁴⁵⁹

Further evidence of the way Guidiccioni’s religious thought was interpreted in the 16th century is represented by the inclusion of his epistles in anthologies of letters of famous literates, which, according to the studies of Anne Jacobson Schutte and Paolo Simoncelli, were cryptic instruments of diffusion of heterodox beliefs.⁴⁶⁰ In particular, Giovanni’s

⁴⁵⁴ On the the *Forciana Quæstiones*, see chapter 2.2.2, in particular note 123.

⁴⁵⁵ Lando, *Forciana Quæstiones*, 36-52. See also Adorni Braccesi, «Una città infetta», 60-77.

⁴⁵⁶ Lando, *Forciana Quæstiones*, 36-52.

⁴⁵⁷ The *Forciana Quæstiones* were first published in 1535 and 1536.

⁴⁵⁸ Adorni Braccesi and Ragagli, “LANDO, Ortensio”, 452.

⁴⁵⁹ *Il libro de la emendatione et correctione dil Stato christiano* can be likely attributed to Lando. *Ibid.*

⁴⁶⁰ Anne Jacobson Schutte, “The *Lettere Volgari* and the Crisis of Evangelism in Italy”, *Renaissance Quarterly*, vol. 28, n. 4 (Winter 1975), 639-688. Simoncelli, *Evangelismo italiano*, in particular chapter V, “Evangelismo e «lettere volgari»”, 282-329. Anne Jacobson Schutte highlighted, in some anthologies of “lettere volgari” published in Venice between 1542 and 1555, the presence of letters of men who, in the same years, were investigated by the Holy Office, because they were suspected of being close to heterodox positions (Bernardino Ochino, Pietro

letters were included in the first and second edition (1542 and 1545) of *Lettere volgari di nobilissimi uomini*, edited by Paolo and Antonio Manuzio. In 1554, Guidiccioni's letters were also published in *Lettere volgari di XIII huomini illustri*, edited by Dionigi Atanagi.⁴⁶¹ It is interesting to note that Atanagi had been the personal secretary of Giovanni Guidiccioni, when the Lucchese literate was made the Governor of Marche. The reformer Pier Paolo Vergerio, after escaping from Italy, expressed a severe opinion on the authors of Atanagi's anthology.⁴⁶² The personalities he referred to were actually, in most cases, adherents to "spiritual" religion, whom he defined as "*maschere*" ("masques"). According to Vergerio, who identified open adherence to the Reformed religion as being the only true faith, these "masques" only pretended to hold a real Christian piety.⁴⁶³ The presence of Giovanni Guidiccioni among the personalities recalled by Vergerio⁴⁶⁴ confirms that fluctuating nature of interpretations of his religious positions, which likely determined the inclusion of Guidiccioni's letters in the anthologies previously cited. In fact, Vergerio's reflection on the one hand confirms the orthodox position of Giovanni Guidiccioni by denying his adherence to Reformed religion; on the other hand, it substantially compares

Carnesacchi, Pier Paolo Vergerio, Marcantonio Flaminio). The scholar focused on the reasons for the success of these anthologies: the wide-ranging topics and the existence of a literate audience. Paolo Simoncelli focused on the cryptic diffusion of heterodox ideas as the main motivation of these anthologies. For an analysis of the evolution of the studies on this topic, see Lodovica Braidà, *Libri di lettere. Le raccolte epistolari del Cinquecento tra inquietudini religiose e "buon volgare"* (Bari: Laterza, 2009).

⁴⁶¹ Simoncelli, *Evangelismo italiano*, 282-329. See also Braidà, *Libri di lettere*, 54-128.

⁴⁶² Pier Paolo Vergerio, *Giudicio sopra le lettere di tredici huomini illustri pubblicate da M. Dionigi Atanagi et stampate in Venetia nell'anno 1554* (s. l., 1555). See also Simoncelli, *Evangelismo italiano*, 297-300.

⁴⁶³ Simoncelli, *Evangelismo italiano*, 297.

⁴⁶⁴ «Viene ora per terzo M. Giovanni Guidiccioni da Lucca, il qual fu vescovo di Fossambruno, et una brava pezza chi riguarda le sue virtù morali, la prudentia, la gravità e l'eloquentia. Ma ancor costui fu una di quelle che io dico maschere». Vergerio, *Giudicio sopra le lettere di tredici huomini* (without page number).

Giovanni to some of the most important representatives of the “spiritual” movement.⁴⁶⁵

The development of studies of the heretical movements in Italy does not provide decisive evidence regarding Giovanni Guidiccioni’s religious positions. It rather provides new elements with which to evaluate Dionisotti’s interpretation, but that do not imply the inclusion of Guidiccioni in the category of “*spirituali*”. Indeed, the religious ideas of Giovanni Guidiccioni must be analyzed in the wide range of intermediate positions that were especially expressed in the years before the opening of the Council of Trento. In this context, the distance between Guidiccioni and the “*spirituali*” was not only in the commitment to realize a program of religious reformation: a concrete attempt to change the historical circumstances that, as Dionisotti underlined, Guidiccioni refused. As far as can be known, he was also not interested in the theological issues that animated the debate of the “spiritual” circles, as the problem of “justification by faith alone”. He rather considered religious reformation as part of a program of moral renovation, which was primarily designed to establish civil harmony. However, the reconstruction of the network of Giovanni’s personal relationships, as well as the analysis of the various cultural contexts that he frequented, provide a more specific historical framework for Carlo Dionisotti’s description of the Lucchese literate: “in the middle light and

⁴⁶⁵ According to Paolo Simoncelli, Vergerio, at the beginning of his “*Giudicio*,” uses the definition of “*maschere*” without any other consideration of their religious beliefs, to describe churchmen and intellectuals characterized by orthodox religious positions. This group includes also Giovanni Guidiccioni. Vergerio, in Simoncelli’s opinion, seems to describe in a more complex way, suggesting their heterodox ideas, personalities who were closer to Protestant religion on theological issues as the “justification by faith alone” (Giberti, Pole, Flaminio). Simoncelli, *Evangelismo italiano*, 297-298. Simoncelli’s interpretation is accurate and reasonable. Nevertheless, it is interesting to observe that, in Vergerio’s *Giudicio*, the “orthodox” group including Giovanni Guidiccioni also shows the presence of members of the “spiritual” movement, as Jacopo Sadoletto. Simoncelli himself recalls the juxtaposition between Guidiccioni and Sadoletto in Vergerio’s text. *Ibid.*, 322, note 72.

on the apparently composite background that frames such a large, alive and noble part of early-sixteenth century Italian culture.”⁴⁶⁶

In this framework, Giovanni’s closeness with Vittoria Colonna can be interpreted as a spiritual affinity that was based on the centrality of the example of Christ as the key answer to the contemporary moral crisis,⁴⁶⁷ despite different interpretations of the religious reformation and of the possibility of its realization. A spiritual sonnet that Vittoria Colonna dedicated to Giovanni Guidiccioni, based on the celebration of the virtue of the Lucchese literate, is an important document evidencing their affection.⁴⁶⁸ A personal portrait that the Marchioness of Pescara gave as a gift to Giovanni represents a further evidence of their intimacy: apart from Guidiccioni, Vittoria Colonna reserved this act of great familiarity only for Pietro Bembo.⁴⁶⁹ This case also introduces this thesis to the artistic interests of Giovanni Guidiccioni, which completes the analysis of Giovanni’s cultural positions.

⁴⁶⁶ «Concludendo, bisogna tenere ferma l’immagine del Guidiccioni in questa luce media e su questo sfondo apparentemente composito, che inquadra tanta e così viva e nobile parte della cultura italiana del primo Cinquecento». Guidiccioni, *Orazione ai nobili di Lucca*, 51-52.

⁴⁶⁷ On the centrality of this topic in Guidiccioni’s *Orazione*, see Guidiccioni, *Orazione ai nobili di Lucca*, 51-52.

⁴⁶⁸ Vittoria Colonna, *Rime e lettere di Vittoria Colonna Marchesana di Pescara* (Firenze: G. Barbera Editore, 1860), n. CCII, 352. Carlo Dionisotti highlights that, in an important manuscript (Roma, Angelica, 2051, c. 59), the sonnet is dedicated to Pietro Bembo. Carlo Dionisotti, “Appunti sul Bembo e Vittoria Colonna”, 125.

⁴⁶⁹ Agosti, “Intorno alla cappella Guidiccioni”, 262. The gift is documented by a letter, without date, written by Giovanni to Vittoria Colonna. *Vittoria Colonna marchesa di Pescara. Carteggio*, 212. See also Sylvia Ferino Pagden, “Vittoria Colonna im Portrait”, in *Vittoria Colonna. Dichterin und Muse Michelangelos. Catalogue of the Exhibition (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, 25 February–25 May 1997)* (Milano: Skira Editore, 1997), 110.

3.3 Giovanni Guidiccioni and the Arts

3.3.1 «*Fatene fare schizzi a Perino*»: Annibal Caro and a Celebratory Medal

In a letter to the medalist Alessandro Cesati,⁴⁷⁰ dated 4 February 1540, Annibal Caro referred to the fact that he had asked the engraver

⁴⁷⁰ Alessandro Cesati, called “Greco” or “Grechetto” was introduced at the Papal Court by Annibal Caro. The first evidence of Cesati’s presence in Rome is a letter of Caro, dated 13 October 1532, to Giovanni Gaddi’s familiars. See Caro, *Lettere Familiari*, vol. I, n. 3, 8. In the 1540s and 1550s, Cesati worked for the Farnese family and the Papal mint. In 1547, he reminded Vasari, through Annibal Caro, “the promise...of consecrating him” (“*la promessa... d’immortalare ancor lui*”) in the *Lives*. See Caro, *Lettere Familiari*, vol. II, 50. Actually, Vasari generously praised him and reported a laudatory judgement of Michelangelo on a medal that Cesati had engraved for Paul III, representing, on the reverse, *Alexander the Great and the High Priest of Jerusalem*. Vasari, *Le vite* (1550), vol. II, 811 and *Le vite* (1568), vol. IV, 628. On Alessandro Cesati see: Silvana De Caro Balbi, *ad vocem* “CESATI, Alessandro, detto il Greco o il Grechetto”, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Roma, Istituto dell’Enciclopedia italiana, 1980), vol. 24, 229-231;

Giovanni Bernardi da Castel Bolognese⁴⁷¹ to draw a medal.⁴⁷² Caro intended the medal to be forged for his patron, Giovanni Guidiccioni, who at that time he was serving as his personal secretary. However, Caro had not been satisfied with the drawing he had received, and he consequently asked Cesati for a new drawing “from your hand or from Perino del Vaga.”⁴⁷³ For this purpose, he sent a detailed description of the subject that he wanted to be represented:

The scene is the one from Virgil, when Juno, through the agency of Aeolus, king of the winds, creates a tempest against the Trojans, and Neptune calms it. And, to come to the details, you must depict on one side of the medal a cave done in such a way that you can imagine it to be the house of the winds. These are to be represented by human figures or half-figures,

⁴⁷¹ Giovanni Bernardi from Castel Bolognese (1463-1553) first worked for Alfonso d’Este. Later, he moved to Rome, where he was protected by Cardinals Ippolito de’ Medici and Giovanni Salviati, who introduced him at the Court of Clement VII. According to Vasari, he engraved for Ippolito de’ Medici two crystals from two Michelangelo’s drawings for Tommaso de’ Cavalieri (representing *Tityus and Phaethon*). Vasari, *Le vite* (1550), vol. II, 810 and *Le vite* (1568), vol. IV, 622. After Ippolito de’ Medici died, in 1535, he entered the service of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese. Among the works he made for Cardinal Farnese, it is possible to recall the crystals of the Farnese Casket (Napoli, Museo Nazionale di Capodimonte), which he engraved after Perino’s drawings. It is interesting to observe that in the letter written by Caro to Cesati on Guidiccioni’s medal, Bernardi is described as being occupied in the realization of the crystals of the Farnese Casket. Caro, *Lettere Familiari*, vol. I, 178. On Giovanni Bernardi, see: *ad vocem* “BERNARDI, Giovanni Desiderio”, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Roma, Istituto dell’Enciclopedia italiana, 1967), vol. 9, 166-169; Philip Attwood, “Giovanni Bernardi and the Question of Medal Attribution in Sixteenth-Century Italy”, in *Perspectives on the Renaissance Medal*, edited by Stephen K. Scher (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 2000), 165-176; Valentino Donati, *L’opera di Giovanni Bernardi da Castel Bolognese nel Rinascimento* (Faenza: Edit Faenza, 2011).

⁴⁷² Caro, *Lettere Familiari*, vol. I, 178.

⁴⁷³ «vi priego...me ne mandiate uno di vostra mano, o di Perino del Vaga». *Ibid.*

with disheveled hair and beards and swollen faces, with their clothes held by both hands...Aeolus...must be in front of Juno, in a reverent pose, and, if you like, with a water-skin in one hand as a reference to the story of Ulysses. Juno has to appear as a queen in a majestic dress, with an imperious look...She is to have a diadem on her head or a fillet over her head, and over her skirt a cloak, dainty shoes on her feet, a thunderbolt in her right hand, and in her left a cymbal. In another part of the medal there is to be a Neptune, with his chariot and his sea-horses, and with a trident...in the act of commanding the winds and stopping the tempest...And as for Neptune, you can use, if you like, Leonardo da Vinci's drawing. Above on a little cloud there is to be placed a Venus, who is to be small to show the distance, and who is to look at Neptune.⁴⁷⁴

As the description indicates, the medal would have represented the episode of *Quos Ego*, taken from Book I of the *Aeneid* (I, 135): the moment when Neptune calms the tempest that Aeolus has raised against Aeneas' fleet. In the letter, Caro specifies the literary source of the composition, the different elements he wanted to be portrayed, and the way in which they should have been depicted and arranged. He also suggests to model the figure of Neptune on Leonardo's own drawing for his friend Antonio

⁴⁷⁴ The translation is from Philip Attwood, *Italian Medals c. 1530-1600* (London: The British Museum Press, 2003), vol. I, 38-39. Caro, *Lettere Familiari*, vol. I, 178-179.

Segni,⁴⁷⁵ known today primarily from one preparatory drawing⁴⁷⁶ and which probably was itself a *Quos Ego*.⁴⁷⁷ As known from Vasari,

⁴⁷⁵ Antonio Segni had been appointed Master of the Papal Mint in 1497, though he did not reside permanently at the Vatican and travelled intermittently between Rome and his native Florence. He must have been an erudite collector, for Botticelli presented him with his *Calumny of Apelles* (Uffizi): «*Della medesima grandezza che è la detta tavola de' Magi, n'ha una di mano del medesimo messer Fabio Segni gentiluomo fiorentino, nella quale è dipinta la Calunnia d'Apelle, bella quanto possa essere. Sotto la quale tavola, la quale egli stesso donò ad Antonio Segni suo amicissimo, si leggono oggi questi versi di detto messer Fabio: INDICIO QUEMQUAM NE FALSO LAEDERE TENTENT/TERRARUM REGES PARVA TABELLA MONET/HUIC SIMILEM AEGIPTI REGI DONAVIT APELLES./REX FUIT ET DIGNUS MUNUS EO.*» Vasari, *Le vite* (1568), vol. III, 520-521. See also Vasari, *Le vite* (1550), vol. I, 478-479. The friendship between Antonio Segni and Leonardo would also explain why the artist made the exceptional "Neptune" drawing: «*Ad Antonio Segni, suo amicissimo, fece in su un foglio un Nettuno, condotto così di disegno con tanta diligenza che e' pareva del tutto vivo. Vedevasi il mare turbato et il carro suo tirato da' cavalli marini con le Fantasime, l'Orche et i Noti, et alcune teste di Dei marini bellissime. Il quale disegno fu donato da Fabio suo figliuolo a messer Giovanni Gaddi, con questo epigramma: PINXIT VIRGILIUS NEPTUNUM, PINXIT HOMERUS/DUM MARIS UNDISONI PER VADA FLECTIT EQUOS./ MENTE QUIDEM VATES ILLUM CONSPEXIT UTERQUE/ VINCIUS AST OCULIS, IUREQUE VINCIT EOS.*» Vasari, *Le vite* (1550), vol. II, 549 and *Le vite* (1568), vol. IV, 23. Vasari, in the 1568 edition of the *Lives*, recalls Fabio Segni also as the inventor of an epitaph at the end of the life of Masaccio. Vasari, *Le vite* (1568), vol. III, 134.

⁴⁷⁶ Windsor Castle, Royal Library, inv. 2570. On the drawing, see Cecil Gould, "Leonardo's Neptune Drawing", *The Burlington Magazine*, vol. 94, n. 595 (October 1952), 289-295; Clark Kenneth, *The drawings of Leonardo da Vinci in the collection of Her Majesty the Queen at Windsor Castle* (London: Phaidon Press Ltd, 1968), vol. 1, n. 12570, 109-110; Kenneth Clark, "Leonardo and the Antique", in *Leonardo's Legacy. An International Symposium*, edited by C. D. O' Malley (Berkley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1969), 24-27; Lawrence Nees, "Le "Quos Ego" de Marc-Antoine Raimondi. L'adaptation d'une source antique par Raphael", *Nouvelles de l'estampe*, n. 40/41 (juillet-octobre 1978), 24-26; *The Art of Italy in the Royal Collection. Renaissance and Baroque*, edited by Lucy Whitaker and Martin Clayton (London: Royal Collection Publications, 2007), n. 11, 80-81; Christian K. Klienbub, "Raphael's *Quos Ego*: forgotten document of the

Leonardo's drawing, after Antonio Segni died, had been inherited by his son Fabio Segni, who gave it as a gift to Giovanni Gaddi.⁴⁷⁸ Perino del Vaga actually completed a drawing for the medal (fig. 20), which was finally engraved by Alessandro Cesati (fig. 21 a and b, 22).

The personalities recalled in the letter highlight the humanistic background of the commission. Indeed, other than Annibal Caro himself, both Fabio Segni and Giovanni Gaddi played a primary role in the development of Roman academic life in the 1530s and early 1540s. Fabio Segni participated in the gatherings of the Accademia dei Vignaiuoli and later contributed to the satirical production of the Accademia della Virtù, in a literary exchange with some of the most distinguished members of this circle, such as Annibal Caro and Mattio Franzesi.⁴⁷⁹ Giovanni Gaddi, who was for several years the main protector of Annibal Caro, played a significant part in the cultural scenario that developed after the Sack of Rome.⁴⁸⁰ The representative of

Renaissance *paragone*", *Word & Image*, vol. 28, n. 3 (July-September 2012), 287-301.

⁴⁷⁷ The subject is suggested by Vasari's description. See note 475 in this chapter. On Leonardo's drawing for Antonio Segni, see the bibliography cited at the previous note.

⁴⁷⁸ See note 475 in this chapter.

⁴⁷⁹ Fabio Segni is mentioned, among the other sources, in the famous letter that Annibal Caro wrote to Benedetti Varchi on 10 March 1538, describing the rituals of the Accademia della Virtù: «*Il Giuoco de la Virtù, che voi sapete, crebbe tanto che diventò reame; e questo carnovale vi son fatte cose divine, perchè ogni settimana sedeva un re, quale avea una cena, e ognuno l'avea a presentar d'una stravaganza e d'una composizione, che a gara tanto l'uno dell'altro e gli re i vassalli hanno fatto cose che danno a dire a tutta Roma. [...] Io ho fatto certe pappolate che Fabio Segni manderà a messer Mattio, perchè non ho tempo a copiare.*» Caro, *Lettere Familiari*, vol. I, 72-73.

⁴⁸⁰ Annibal Caro entered the service of the Gaddi family in 1525, as the private teacher of Giovanni Gaddi's nephew, Lorenzo Lenzi. He worked as Giovanni's personal secretary since 1529. On Giovanni Gaddi (Florence 1493 - Rome 1542), see: Alessandro Cecchi, "Profili di amici e committenti", in *Andrea del Sarto 1486-1530. Dipinti e disegni a Firenze*. Catalogo della mostra (Firenze, Palazzo Pitti, 8 novembre 1986 - 1 marzo 1987) (Firenze: D'Angeli-Haesusler Editore, 1986), 42-58; Vanna Arrighi, *ad vocem* "GADDI, Giovanni", in *Dizionario Biografico degli*

a prestigious Florentine family of bankers and the brother of Cardinal Niccolò Gaddi,⁴⁸¹ Giovanni became the dean of the Camera Apostolica during the pontificate of Clement VII. This position allowed him to manage the Papal resources and made him the point of reference of the Florentine community of Rome.⁴⁸² He was an outstanding patron and art collector, was a friend of Benvenuto Cellini⁴⁸³ and a correspondent of Michelangelo.⁴⁸⁴ He bought works of artists such as Andrea del Sarto⁴⁸⁵ and Giulio Clovio,⁴⁸⁶ and he commissioned Jacopo Sansovino to work on

Italiani (Roma, Istituto dell'Enciclopedia italiana, 1998), vol. 51, 156-158; Manuela Morresi, *Jacopo Sansovino* (Milano: Electa, 2000), 50-65 and 410-415; S. Ginzburg, "Filologia e storia dell'arte"; Tommaso Mozzi, *Giovanfrancesco Rustici. Le compagnie del Paiuolo e della Cazzuola. Arte, letteratura, festa nell'età della Maniera* (Firenze: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 2008), 373-375; Rebecchini, «Un altro Lorenzo», 208-209; Caroline Elam, "'Con certo ordine disordinato': Images of Giovanni Gaddi's Grotto and Other Renaissance Fountains", in *Renaissance Studies in Honor of Joseph Connors*, edited by Machtelt Israëls and Louis A. Waldman (Florence: The Harvard University Center for Italian Renaissance Studies, Harvard University Press, 2013), 446-462.

⁴⁸¹ On Cardinal Niccolò Gaddi, see Vanna Arrighi, *ad vocem* "GADDI, Niccolò", in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Roma, Istituto dell'Enciclopedia italiana, 1998), vol. 51, 161-164.

⁴⁸² Rebecchini, «Un altro Lorenzo», 208.

⁴⁸³ Anyway, Benvenuto Cellini, in his biography, left a negative description of Giovanni Gaddi, who did not favor his marriage with the young daughter of a goldsmith. Benvenuto Cellini, *La vita*, edited by Guido Davico Bonino (Torino: Einaudi, 1973), vol. I, 99 and 114.

⁴⁸⁴ Paul Oskar Kristeller, *Iter Italicum. A Finding List of Uncatalogued or Incompletely Catalogued Humanistic Manuscripts of the Renaissance in Italian and other Libraries. Volume 2. Italy: Orvieto to Volterra [and] Vatican City* (London: The Warburg Institute; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1967), 507. See also Gaddi's letter to Michelangelo, dated 3 January 1532, in *Il carteggio di Michelangelo*, edited by Paola Barocchi and Renzo Ristori (Firenze: S.P.E.S., 1973), vol. III, 367 s.

⁴⁸⁵ Vasari, *Le vite* (1550), vol. II, 704 and *Le vite* (1568), vol. IV, 355. See also Cecchi, "Profili di amici e committenti".

⁴⁸⁶ Vasari, *Le vite* (1568), vol. VI, 214.

the project of his Roman Palace.⁴⁸⁷ Moreover, he bought most of the collection of ancient marbles of Lorenzo Ghiberti, which included famous works such as the *Bed of Polyclitus*.⁴⁸⁸ After he participated to literary associations such as the *Compagnia della Cazzuola* in Florence,⁴⁸⁹ he was in turn a member of the *Accademia della Virtù* in Rome, whose meetings he hosted in his Roman Palace, upon the death of Ippolito de' Medici.⁴⁹⁰ In the letter on Giovanni Guidiccioni's medal, the reference to the circle of the *Accademia della Virtù* is also suggested by the involvement of Perino del Vaga. After he came back to Rome in 1538, the artist certainly participated in this erudite gathering,⁴⁹¹ as it is firstly indicated by his friendship with Francesco Maria Molza⁴⁹² and his kinship with the "*virtuoso*" Giuseppe Cincio, who was the doctor of Margherita of Austria and a friend of Annibal Caro.⁴⁹³

⁴⁸⁷ On the activity of Sansovino for Giovanni Gaddi, see Vasari, *Le vite* (1568), vol. VI, 180. See also Morresi, *Jacopo Sansovino*, 50-65.

⁴⁸⁸ Vasari, *Le vite* (1550), vol. I, 258 and *Le vite* (1568), vol. III, 102.

⁴⁸⁹ Mozzati, *Giovanfrancesco Rustici*, 373-375. The participation of Giovanni Gaddi to the *Compagnia della Cazzuola* is recalled by Vasari. See Vasari, *Le vite* (1568), vol. V, 483.

⁴⁹⁰ Guido Rebecchini supposes that Giovanni Gaddi might have had a decisive role in transferring to the Roman context ludic literary associations as the *Compagnia della Cazzuola*. Rebecchini, «Un altro Lorenzo», 208-209.

⁴⁹¹ On the participation of Perino del Vaga to the *Accademia della Virtù*, see Silvia Ginzburg, "Vasari e Raffaello", in *Giorgio Vasari e il cantiere delle Vite del 1550. Atti del Convegno* (Firenze, Kunsthistorisches Institut, Palazzo Grifoni, 26-28 aprile 2012), edited by Barbara Agosti, Silvia Ginzburg, Alessandro Nova (Venezia: Marsilio Editori, 2013), 35.

⁴⁹² On the friendship between Perino and Francesco Maria Molza, see Vasari, *Le vite* (1550), vol. II, 872 and *Le vite* (1568), vol. V, 147. See also Ginzburg, "Vasari e Raffaello", 35.

⁴⁹³ As recalled in the artist's epitaph, in the Pantheon, quoted by Vasari, Perino had married Giuseppe Cincio's daughter. Vasari, *Le vite* (1550), vol. II, 879 and *Le vite* (1568), vol. V, 160. See also Ginzburg, "Vasari e Raffaello", 35.

Perino's drawing is today preserved⁴⁹⁴ (fig. 20). A medal in very poor conditions is also existing⁴⁹⁵ (fig. 21 a and b). Cesati's authorship of the remaining medal is not certain. Conversely, Cesati almost certainly executed the obverse die of the medal of Giovanni Guidiccioni that is preserved in the National Museums of Scotland (fig. 22): it shows the subject wearing a hooded cassock and a biretta and has a beaded border and the simple legend IOANNES GUIDICCIONVS.⁴⁹⁶ It can be observed that Cesati's authorship of the die is consistent not only with the medalist's style, but also with Caro's instructions for the Guidiccioni medal. Indeed, Caro suggested that, once the drawing was finished, Cesati might make a wax model, which would be a service to him (Caro) and also extremely useful to the engraver.⁴⁹⁷

The circular-shaped drawing by Perino at Windsor Castle (fig. 20) follows Caro's instructions in its main features. An exception is the representation of the winds, which are depicted as blowing heads rather than as men or half-men as indicated by Caro,⁴⁹⁸ who was particular

⁴⁹⁴ The drawing for the medal has been identified with the paper at Windsor Castle, Royal Library, inv. RL 5497. On the drawing see: Michael Hirst, "Tibaldi around Perino", *The Burlington Magazine*, vol. 107, n. 752 (November 1965), 569-571; Elena Parma Armani, *Perino del Vaga. L'anello mancante. Studi sul Manierismo* (Genova: Sagep Editrice, 1986), 126, 272; Clare Robertson, 'Il Gran Cardinale' Alessandro Farnese, *Patron of the Arts* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992), 218; Martin Clayton, *Raphael and his Circle. Drawings from Windsor Castle* (London: Merrell Holberton Publishers, 1999), n. 55, 188-190; Elena Parma, ed., *Perino del Vaga: tra Raffaello e Michelangelo*. Catalogo della mostra (Mantova, Palazzo Te, 18 marzo-10 giugno 2001) (Milano: Electa, 2001), 211, n. 101 and 102.

⁴⁹⁵ Brescia, Pinacoteca Civica, Mazzucchelli I inv. LXVI.1. On the medal, see Attwood, *Italian Medals*, vol. I., 38-41. See also Pietro Antonio Gaetani, *Museum Mazzucchellianum, seu numismata virorum doctrina praestantium, quae apud Jo. Maria comitem Mazzuchellum Brixiae servantur* (Venetia: Tipi di Antonio Zatta, 1761), vol. I, pl. LXVI, 305-306; Clayton, *Raphael and his Circle*, fig. 82.

⁴⁹⁶ National Museums of Scotland, H QN 2. Stell die, 41 mm. Attwood, *Italian Medals*, vol. I., 45, fig. 9.

⁴⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 41.

⁴⁹⁸ Clayton, *Raphael and his Circle*, 188-190; Parma, *Perino del Vaga: tra Raffaello e Michelangelo*, 211.

concerned with their appearance.⁴⁹⁹ Perino had adopted this iconography of the winds in the frescos of the arches at the entrance of Palazzo Doria in Genoa and in the tapestries that he had projected for the same Palace.⁵⁰⁰ Moreover, for the figure of Neptune, he did not use Leonardo's drawing as a model. Instead, he repeated in reverse the figure he had invented for the drawing representing *The Shipwreck of Aeneas*, at the Louvre (fig. 23),⁵⁰¹ which had been engraved by Giulio Bonasone (fig. 24).⁵⁰² The position of Neptune in the drawing at Windsor Castle perfectly corresponds with the figure of the paper at the Louvre, whereas the horses are in different positions.⁵⁰³ As Elena Parma has highlighted,⁵⁰⁴ these latter recall the horses of Neptune's chariot on the reverse of a drawing at the British Museum,⁵⁰⁵ which shows on the *recto* studies for the Massimi Chapel and is consequently dated at the same period as the project of Guidiccioni's medal. Michael Hirst also noticed that the figure of Juno in Perino's drawing at Windsor is based on the figure of Circe from the drawing of Parmigianino representing *Circe with the Companions of Ulysses* (fig. 25), of which a *chiaroscuro* woodcut was

⁴⁹⁹ «Fatene fare schizzi a Perino o a chi andrà più per fantasia». Caro, *Lettere Familiari*, vol. I, 179-180. See also Hirst, "Tibaldi around Perino", 570-571.

⁵⁰⁰ Clayton, *Raphael and his Circle*, 188-190; Parma, *Perino del Vaga: tra Raffaello e Michelangelo*, 211.

⁵⁰¹ Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques, inv. 636. On the drawing see: Bernice F. Davidson, *Mostra di disegni di Perino del Vaga e la sua cerchia* (Firenze: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1966), n. 17, 24-25; Parma Armani, *Perino del Vaga: tra Raffaello e Michelangelo*, 208.

⁵⁰² Bologna, Gabinetto Nazionale dei Disegni e delle Stampe, inv. P.N. 1709. On the engraving see: Achim Gnann, "Naufragio di Enea", in Parma Armani, *Perino del Vaga: tra Raffaello e Michelangelo*, 210, n. 100 and the bibliography there cited.

⁵⁰³ Parma, *Perino del Vaga: tra Raffaello e Michelangelo*, 211.

⁵⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰⁵ British Museum, inv. 1946-7-13-568. Philip Pouncey and John Arthur Gere, *Italian Drawings in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum. Raphael and his Circle* (London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1962), vol. 1, n. 169 verso.

made.⁵⁰⁶ Perino's design for the medal is a detailed representation that attempts to conform to the elaborate prescriptions of Annibal Caro, by completing the pen and ink drawing with a grey-watercolor finish and white-painting highlights.⁵⁰⁷ With regard to the complexity of this description, it has even been suggested that Caro was not really considering the small size of the medal.⁵⁰⁸ Yet Caro's concern with visual appearances seems to be indicated by his awareness that the scene might appear "troppo confusa" because of the many elements it required, as well as by his indication of reducing the dimensions of Venus in order to give the impression of distance.⁵⁰⁹

The medal, which shows on the *recto* a profile portrait of Giovanni Guidiccioni (fig. 21 a), eliminates many details of Perino's invention and modifies the positions of the figures, simplifying the most complicated ones (fig. 21 b). Hence, in the medal, the figures of the winds are omitted, Venus is smaller than in the drawing, in order to create the effect of distance required by Caro, Neptune is represented from the front, rather than from the back, and Juno and Aeolus are both directed toward the spectator, rather than shown in profile, in positions more compatible with the low-relief technique.⁵¹⁰

The commission of Guidiccioni's medal is significant evidence of Annibal Caro's role in promoting artistic projects and inventing erudite iconographic programs.⁵¹¹ His friendship with Giovanni Guidiccioni was at the origin of the initiative, which aimed to celebrate the Lucchese

⁵⁰⁶ Hirst, "Tibaldi around Perino", 571, note 10. For the drawing of Parmigianino, see Arthur Ewart Popham, *Catalogue of the Drawings of Parmigianino* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1971), vol. I, n. 73, 66.

⁵⁰⁷ Parma, *Perino del Vaga: tra Raffaello e Michelangelo*, 211.

⁵⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 570. Clare Robertson refuses the interpretation of Annibal Caro as not being aware of the visual appearances of the iconographic programs he invented. Clare Robertson, "Annibal Caro as Iconographer: Sources and Method", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, vol. 45 (1982), 170 and note 60.

⁵⁰⁹ Attwood, *Italian Medals*, vol. I, 39.

⁵¹⁰ Parma, *Perino del Vaga: tra Raffaello e Michelangelo*, 211; Attwood, *Italian Medals*, vol. I, 39.

⁵¹¹ On Caro's iconographic interests, see Robertson, "Annibal Caro as Iconographer".

literate in his role as Governor of Romagna. In particular, the medal was expected to commemorate Guidiccioni's efforts in pacifying the province,⁵¹² which had been riven by revolts against the Papal administration.⁵¹³

The choice of *Quos Ego* as the celebrating subject of the medal corresponds with the selection of a much-appreciated episode in Renaissance art, beginning at latest with the famous drawing of Raphael engraved by Marcantonio Raimondi (fig. 26).⁵¹⁴ The way Caro developed the subject in his description of the iconographic content of the medal reflects the distinction between *invenzione* and *disposizione* (the choice of the literary topic and its arrangement). This, as Clare Robertson has shown, was clearly present in Caro's literary reflection and applied to the elaboration of his iconographic programs.⁵¹⁵ The increasing attention

⁵¹² Minutoli, *Sulla vita e le opere di Monsignor Giovanni Guidiccioni*.

⁵¹³ See this chapter, paragraph 3.1.

⁵¹⁴ The print by Marcantonio Raimondi is preserved in London, British Museum, Department of Prints & Drawings, inv. 1910,0212.340. On this work, see: Giovanni Becatti, "Raphael and Antiquity", in *The Complete Work of Raphael* (New York: Reynal and Co., 1969), 548-49; Konrad Oberhuber and Lawrence Nees, *Rome and Venice: Prints of the High Renaissance* (Cambridge, MA: Fogg Art Museum, 1974), 32; Nees, "Le "Quos Ego" de Marc-Antoine Raimondi", 18-29; Innis H. Shoemaker, ed., *The Engravings of Marcantonio Raimondi*. Catalogue of the Exhibition (The Spencer Museum of Art, The University of Kansas (Lawrence, KS: Spencer Art Museum, 1981), 120, n. 32; Roger Jones and Nicholas Penny, *Raphael* (New Haven: Yale, 1983), 180-83; Carla Lord, "Raphael, Marcantonio Raimondi, and Virgil", *Source*, vol. 3, n. 2 (Winter 1984), 81-92; Patricia A. Emison, *Invention and the Italian Renaissance Print: Mantegna to Parmigianino* (Dissertation, Columbia University, 1985), 176; Konrad Oberhuber and Achim Gnann, eds., *Roma e lo stile classico di Raffaello. 1515-1527*. Catalogo della mostra (Mantova, Palazzo Te, 20 marzo - 30 maggio 1999; Vienna, Graphische Sammlung Albertina, 23 giugno - 5 settembre 1999) (Milano: Electa, 1999), 114; Corinna Höper and others, eds., *Raffael und die Folgen. Das Kunstwerk in Zeitaltern seiner graphischen Reproduzierbarkeit* (Osfildern: Hatje Cantz, 2001), 204-05; Klienbub, "Raphael's *Quos Ego*".

⁵¹⁵ Robertson, "Annibal Caro as Iconographer". Clare Robertson specifies that Caro used the word *invenzione* in two meanings: "it might denote the figure or *storia* itself, or again the actual process of choosing such subjects." Other than

paid to the *disposizione*, which had to be complemented by the artist,⁵¹⁶ led him to the multiplication of details that, as previously seen, characterizes his description of the mythological episode and was reflected in Perino's drawing for the medal.

It is interesting to note that Caro was likely supported by Lodovico Fabbri in the development of the visual appearances of the subject. This literate, who was familiar with Benedetto Varchi, Francesco Maria Molza and Trifone Benci, as well as with Annibal Caro, worked as the secretary of Giovanni Gaddi for most of his life.⁵¹⁷ He was quite famous as a scholar of antiquity and of ancient architecture in particular.⁵¹⁸ Because of Fabbri's expertise in ancient things, Annibal Caro refers to him in the letter as the advisor whom Cesati should have consulted to complement Caro's own description of the mythological subject for the medal.⁵¹⁹ The involvement of Lodovico Fabbri contributes to clarifying the erudite environment that was behind the commission of Guidiccioni's medal. This was the circle gathering around Giovanni Gaddi, which was

dipositio - the way the subject should have been arranged - Robertson proposes to further press the literary parallel, and suggests that Caro saw the process of working out of appearances and attitudes of the figures as the *elocution*: "the embellishment of the concepts devised in invention". *Ibid.*, 172-173. For an analysis of this topic, see Salvatore Settis, "Artisti e committenti tra Quattro e Cinquecento".

⁵¹⁶ In the letter to Cesati, Caro affirms that he had described the subject in details not 'to lay down rules for you, or to make you do exactly as I say, but so that you may have by you my idea and the subject, and the composition will be up to you'. Caro, *Lettere Familiari*, vol. I, 179. The translation is from Attwood, *Italian Medals*, vol. I., 39.

⁵¹⁷ On Ludovico Fabbri, see Simona Foà, *ad vocem* "FABBRI, Lodovico", in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Roma, Istituto dell'Enciclopedia italiana, 1993), vol. 43, 636-637.

⁵¹⁸ Bartolomeo Marliano, the author of *Antiquae Romae topographia* (Romae: per A. Bladum, 1534; republished with the title of *de Urbis Romae topographia*, Romae: in aedibus V. Dorici, 1544), recalls Fabbri, together with Pomponio Leto, Annibal Caro and Antonio Allegretti, in the group of literates who accompanied him while walking among Roman ruins. *Ibid.*, 636.

⁵¹⁹ Caro, *Lettere Familiari*, vol. I, 179.

characterized by a central role of Annibal Caro in the promotion of its antiquarian culture and artistic activity.⁵²⁰ This intellectual background is recalled in other artistic commissions related to Giovanni Guidiccioni.

3.3.2 A Fountain after Giovanni Gaddi's *Grotto*

In a letter written from Naples on 13 July 1538, Annibal Caro⁵²¹ sent to Giovanni Guidiccioni, then in Lucca, a detailed description of the fountain in the garden of his master, Giovanni Gaddi, in Rome.⁵²² Guidiccioni, who was planning improvements to the garden of his family *villa* in Carignano,⁵²³ had certainly asked for accounts of Roman fountains, including an unidentified example defined as “quella del Senese ne la strada del Popolo.”⁵²⁴ As Caro did not remember this latter very well, he promised he would have written a description of it as soon as he returned to Rome.⁵²⁵ As we know from Guidiccioni's reply, the Lucchese literate received, together with Caro's letter, the drawing of the fountain “del Senese” by Sebastiano del Piombo and the drawing of the Gaddi fountain by an unidentified artist.⁵²⁶

⁵²⁰ See also Ginzburg, “Vasari e Raffaello”, 35.

⁵²¹ Caro, *Lettere Familiari*, vol. I, n. 61, 105-109.

⁵²² The letter and the project of the fountain have been particularly analyzed by Caroline Elam and Guido Rebecchini. See Elam, ““Con certo ordine disordinato”” and Guido Rebecchini, “For Pleasure and for Entertainment: a Rustic Fountain in Sixteenth-century Rome and a Project by Giovanni Mangone”, in *Renaissance Studies in Honor of Joseph Connors*, edited by Machtelt Israëls and Louis A. Waldman (Florence: The Harvard University Center for Italian Renaissance Studies, Harvard University Press, 2013), 463-473.

⁵²³ On the Guidiccioni villa in Carignano, see chapter 2.1.

⁵²⁴ Elam, ““Con certo ordine disordinato””, 450-451. Aulo Greco identifies “il Senese” as Baldassare Peruzzi, who projected the *vigna* of Julius II on *via Flaminia*. Caro, *Lettere Familiari*, vol. I, note 5, 107.

⁵²⁵ Caro, *Lettere Familiari*, vol. I, 107.

⁵²⁶ «Ora ritorno alla lettera vostra, la quale mi fu gratissima per aver letto e riletto più volte il modello della fonte di Monsignor Vostro, molto meglio dipinta dalla vostra ingegnosa lettera che dalla eccellente mano di fra' Bastiano, il quale fu tanto cortese, che

This epistolary exchange confirms Guidiccioni's artistic interests to be closely associated with the erudite environment of the Accademia della Virtù. Indeed, among the artists who frequented Giovanni Gaddi's circle, there was certainly Sebastiano del Piombo. As Vasari recalls, Sebastiano was a friend of Francesco Maria Molza, Gandolfo Porrino and Francesco Berni. He participated in the literary meetings of the *Virtuosi* with satirical literary compositions and worked as a painter for Ippolito de' Medici.⁵²⁷

The *villa* of Giovanni Gaddi, which included the garden mentioned in Caro's description, has completely disappeared today. It was likely located on the Esquiline hill, not far away from the Colosseum and the Domus Aurea.⁵²⁸ The fountain recalled in the letter had probably been erected a few years before Guidiccioni's request for its description, with the likely involvement of Annibal Caro in its invention and execution.⁵²⁹

non si lasciò pregare a darmi il disegno di quella del Senese, siccome quello di Monsignor Vostro dipinto da non so chi altro buon maestro, mi fu mandato dal fratello vostro». Letter written from Carignano in August 1538. Guidiccioni, *Le lettere*, vol. II, n. 101, 10-12. In the same letter, Guidiccioni recalls that he had listened Bernardino da Siena preaching in Lucca. He had been so much impressed that he had written two sonnets on the preacher, which he was going to send to Annibal Caro. *Ibid.*, 12.

⁵²⁷ «E perché era amicissimo di tutti gli uomini virtuosi, spesso avea seco a cena il Molza e messer Gandolfo, facendo bonissima cera. Fu ancora suo grandissimo amico messer Francesco Berni fiorentino, che gli scrisse un capitolo, al quale rispose fra' Sebastiano con un altro assai bello, come quelli che, essendo universale, seppe anco a far versi toscani e burleschi accomodarsi.» Vasari, *Le vite* (1568), vol. V, 100-101. See also Vasari, *Le vite* (1550), vol. II, 845-846. For the relationship between Sebastiano del Piombo and the circle of Ippolito de' Medici, see Romei, "Roma 1532-1537" and Rebecchini, «Un altro Lorenzo», 239-242.

⁵²⁸ David R. Coffin, *Gardens and Gardening in Papal Rome* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1991), 36-37. Enrico Garavelli identifies the garden recalled in Caro's letter with the garden of the Roman Palace of Giovanni Gaddi in *via Giulia*, which included Gaddi's rich collection of ancient marbles. Garavelli, "Stravaganze di Annibale", 227.

⁵²⁹ Fritz-Eugen Keller, *Zum Villenleben und Villenbau am römischen Hof der Farnese. Kunstgeschichtliche Untersuchung der Zeugnisse bei Annibal Caro*, PhD thesis (Freie Universität Berlin, 1980), 29-36; Elam, "Con certo ordine disordinato", 452-453

According to Caro's description, it was actually a grotto consisting of a façade made of a kind of spongy dark volcanic tufa called *asprone* and punctuated with holes to contain plants.⁵³⁰ An arched rustic opening, similar to the entrance of a cave, gave access to several rooms inside and was flanked by niches on both sides with fountains. These latter were made of rectangular *vasche*, each embellished with a marble sarcophagus and the statue of a god-river, as in the fountain of river Tigris/Arno in the statue court at the Vatican Belvedere.⁵³¹ Caro specified that the right sarcophagus was supported by lion heads and laid on a lower basin into which the water drained away. The left sarcophagus was placed into a kind of small lake with a bed of shingle. The impression of rustic nature was emphasized by the presence of white scale hanging above both the fountains, which were also enriched by shells, corals, mother-of-pearl and water plants all around. Caro only mentioned, without describing it in detail, the complicated hydraulic system that powered the fountain and that would not be necessary to replicate in the garden of Giovanni Guidiccioni in Lucca, as it was graced with a natural fall.⁵³²

In 2005 Caroline Elam recognized a depiction of the fountain in a pen drawing at Christ Church, which records a structure labeled "fontana di M[onsignor] G[iov]an[ni] Gaddi i[n] Roma" (fig. 27).⁵³³ As Elam

and Rebecchini, "For Pleasure and for Entertainment", 463. Keller (32) suggest that the fountain was constructed in April 1538, when Annibal Caro wrote to Bernardo Paoli «*vi mettiamo in ordine le fontane*» (Caro, *Lettere Familiari*, vol. I, n. 44, 76). Rebecchini (463, note 2) recalls another letter of Annibal Caro, written in July 1535 (Caro, *Lettere Familiari*, vol. I, n. 11, 29), where there might be a reference to the construction of the fountain.

⁵³⁰ Caro, *Lettere Familiari*, vol. I, 105. See also Elam, ""Con certo ordine disordinato"", 451-452 and Rebecchini, "For Pleasure and for Entertainment", 463.

⁵³¹ Caro, *Lettere Familiari*, vol. I, 106. See also Elam, ""Con certo ordine disordinato"", 452.

⁵³² Caro, *Lettere Familiari*, vol. I, 107. See also Elam, ""Con certo ordine disordinato"", 452.

⁵³³ Christ Church, Oxford, JBS 1481v. The drawing is part of a group of drawings of fountain grottoes, including the plan and elevation structure for a cardinal, with statues of Silenus and Faunus (1481r); the plan and view of the courtyard

highlighted, the drawing gives an impression of the outdoor room Caro that described as leading up to the grotto, with its “*spalliere* of ivy and jasmine and its pergola of woven vines.”⁵³⁴ Indeed, the drawing shows, from a high vantage point, a pergola and a dining table, with small figures seating under a *spalliera* and peering down from a kind of gallery at top left under the pergola, where there was evidently a walkway or hanging garden.⁵³⁵ The grotto seems to be excavated from the hillside at the back. It is complemented by the two fountains recalled in the letter, which, on the other hand, are lacking all the details Caro described, including the river gods.⁵³⁶ Elam identified the anonymous artist of the drawing as an architect from Veneto or Northern Italy, as seems to be suggested by the unusual spelling of some words that appear on some drawings of the group that the mentioned sheet belongs to.⁵³⁷

As has been highlighted, the fountain grotto *all’antica* was a primary element in the development of Italian Renaissance garden. It was first reinvented in the gardens of Roman humanists, then at Bramante’s Vatican Belvedere and at Raphael’s Villa Madama, before becoming an irreplaceable component of urban and suburban Renaissance villas all over Italy.⁵³⁸ In this context, Lucca was in turn characterized by the

and fountain of the cardinal of Santa Croce (1482r); the plans of a nymphaeum complex and the plan and elevation of a fountain of the papal master of ceremonies (1482v). The structure that Elam identified as the fountain of Giovanni Gaddi is on the left side of mentioned sheet. In the right side of the same sheet is a drawing of an unidentified wall fountain with a mask, to the left of that a canephoric herm flanking a niche, and below details of a swag and boss. At the very bottom of the sheet there is the crowing element of the fountain of the master of ceremonies shown in 1482v, demonstrating that the two sheets were originally joined as one. Elam, ““Con certo ordine disordinato””.

⁵³⁴ *Ibid.*, 451.

⁵³⁵ *Ibid.*, 451-453.

⁵³⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵³⁷ In particular, the word “*uselliera*” for “*uccelliera*” on 1481r seems to indicate that the artist came from Veneto or somewhere else in northern Italy, rather than from Tuscany or central Italy. *Ibid.*, 454.

⁵³⁸ See Coffin, *Gardens and Gardening*, 28-57 and Elam, ““Con certo ordine disordinato””, 446-447 for an overview of the literature on the subject. *In*

diffusion of fountains inspired by ancient models, with nymphaeum and grottos, in the second half of the 16th century, according to the influence of Ammannati's architecture, as is particularly displayed by the cases of villa Buonvisi-Bottini and of villa Buonvisi-Oliva.⁵³⁹ It is not possible to determine whether Giovanni Guidiccioni actually replicated the typology of Gaddi's rustic fountain in his Lucchese *villa*.⁵⁴⁰ His request for inspiration shows the increasing success of such rustic fountains in Rome, between the 1530s and the 1550s,⁵⁴¹ when the popularity of these models was certainly promoted by the renewed antiquarian interests deeply characterizing the Roman cultural background. At the same time, Guidiccioni's correspondence highlights the large circulation of such models in contexts that remained at the periphery of this classicizing culture and offers a further evidence of the close exchange between literates and artists that promoted its development

3.3.3 Other Art Commissions

In the letter to Alessandro Cesati previously mentioned,⁵⁴² Annibal Caro prayed his correspondent to finish the medal promptly and willingly. He added that Cesati should have put "all his thought" into it. In fact, Caro would like Giovanni Guidiccioni to see Cesati's work for a comparison with another medal that was to be made by Giovanni

particular, Guido Rebecchini identified the prototype of Gaddi's grotto fountain in the elephant fountain that had been erected in 1520-1521 in the garden of Raphael's Villa Madama, made of a rectangular sarcophagus with a sculpture on top and a lower basin. Rebecchini, "For Pleasure and for Entertainment", 464.

⁵³⁹ *Atlante delle grotte e dei ninfei in Italia. Toscana, Lazio, Italia meridionale e isole*, edited by Vincenzo Cazzato and others (Milano: Electa, 2001), 85-112.

⁵⁴⁰ The fountain cannot be identified with the fount with columns that is today visible in the garden of the villa of Carignano.

⁵⁴¹ Rebecchini, "For Pleasure and for Entertainment", 464.

⁵⁴² See this chapter, paragraph 3.3.1.

Bernardi da Castelbolognese.⁵⁴³ Caro's words offer significant evidence of the use of medals as means of artistic competition. Moreover, they allow the understanding of Cesati's commission as a not-isolated case in Giovanni Guidiccioni's patronage activity. Indeed, a taste for medal collecting is shown also by Guidiccioni's epistolary exchange.

In a letter written from Fossombrone on 26 December 1539, Giovanni requested his Lucchese friend Giovanni Battista Bernardi⁵⁴⁴ to send him a medal portrait that Pastorino Pastorini da Siena had realized for him.⁵⁴⁵ As we know from Annibal Caro's correspondence, the project had been supervised by Caro himself, in Rome. In a letter to Guidiccioni, written on 12 October 1539, Caro affirmed that the portrait had been completed and that it was ready to be varnished. As it is possible to derive from his description of the work, Caro had a central role in its elaboration: he asked Pastorino to paint rather than to engrave the label that completed the portrait, in order not to alter the image the artist had realized. He declared himself to be very satisfied with Pastorino's medal, although he stated that Guidiccioni was deserving of greater artists such as Michelangelo and Sebastiano del Piombo.⁵⁴⁶ Some days later, he

⁵⁴³ «Di grazia, servitemi presto e volentieri, perché lo fate per un uomo, il quale merita che ci mettiatelo tutto 'l vostro pensiero, e che ioarei caro, che vedesse una simil cosa di vostra mano, a paragone d'un'altra che se ne farà fare a mastro Giovanni». Caro, *Lettere familiari*, vol. I, 180.

⁵⁴⁴ On Giovanni Battista Bernardi from Lucca see chapter 2.2.2.

⁵⁴⁵ «Ricordatevi di mandarci il ritratto del Pastorino in medaglia, e usategli qualche cortesia». Guidiccioni, *Le lettere*, vol. II, n. 115, 30. On Pastorino Pastorini da Siena and on his activity as a medalist see, *The Currency of Fame. Portrait Medals of the Renaissance. Catalogue of the Exhibition (Washington, National Gallery and New York, Frick Collection, 1994)*, edited by Stephen K. Scher (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., in association with the Frick Collection, 1994), 177-180; Attwood, *Italian medals*, vol. I, 242-279 and vol. II, 97-126; John Graham Pollard, *Renaissance Medals, National Gallery of Art, Washington. Vol. 1. Italy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 382-396.

⁵⁴⁶ «A quest'ora il ritratto di V. S. è finito del tutto, ed oggi gli si dà la vernice. Il Pasterno si è portato da uomo grande, ed ha migliorato assai; ma io non me soddisfaccio interamente, perché V. S. è degna de' Michelangeli e de' Bastiani. Volea fare intarsiare le

delivered the finished medal to Giovanni Battista Bernardi from Lucca.⁵⁴⁷ The project certainly matches the taste for commemorative medals that, in the mid-sixteenth century, established a celebratory code derived from the ancient Roman medals.⁵⁴⁸ It found expression in the production of portrait medals that could be completed, on the reverse, by *imprese* and allegorical representations in turn inspired to the ancient. The case of Giovanni Guidiccioni's artistic commissions highlights the importance of medals for the circulation and diffusion of that classicizing culture that, elaborated in different centers, found a peculiar form of expression in Rome. Moreover, it leads to question the existence and the importance of such a classicizing fashion in Lucca. The possible influence of an antiquarian culture in 16th-century Lucca has never been investigated by studies of the city context. Hence, the production of medals related to Giovanni Guidiccioni raises a problem concerning the role of the antiquarian taste in the development of 16th-century Lucca cultural background: a problem that is suggested also by the collection of ancient medals, coins and statues of the Lucchese Giuseppe Giova.

The reference to the same refined artistic culture celebrated at the Roman Court that had a large diffusion all over Italy can also be found in a letter written by Giovanni Guidiccioni to Pietro Aretino on 6 July 1540. In the letter, Guidiccioni promised to send Aretino some ceramic

lettere nell'ornamento; ma perché sconfiggandosi si disordina ogni cosa, mi sono risoluto di farvele dipingere». Caro, *Lettere familiari*, vol. I, n. 114, 158.

⁵⁴⁷ See the letter written by Annibal Caro in Rome to Giovanni Guidiccioni on 19 October 1539: «Il ritratto si porterà questa sera al Bernardi». *Ibid.*, vol. I, n. 115, 160.

⁵⁴⁸ For an introduction to the topic, see *The Currency of Fame*; John Cunnally, *Images of the Illustrious. The Numismatic Presence in the Renaissance* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1999); Attwood, *Italian Medals*; Walter Cupperi, "La riscoperta delle monete antiche come codice comunicativo: medaglie dall'opera di Giovanni Bernardi, Alfonso Lombardi, Giovanni da Cavino, «TP», Leone e Pompeo Leoni per Carlo V (1530-1558)", *Saggi e memorie di storia dell'arte*, n. 26 (2002), 31-85. See also Klaus Fittschen, "Sul ruolo del ritratto antico nell'arte italiana", in *Memoria dell'antico nell'arte italiana*. Vol. II. *I generi e i temi ritrovati*, edited by Salvatore Settis (Torino: Giulio Einaudi editore, 1985), 381-412, in particular 388-407.

that he had received from Giovanni Bernardi da Castelbolognese.⁵⁴⁹ As we know from Aretino's reply, this latter sent his portrait "in silver" to Giovanni Guidiccioni and finally gave the ceramic as a gift to the Spanish diplomat and writer Diego Hurtado de Mendoza.⁵⁵⁰ It can be observed that Diego Hurtado de Mendoza not only was an important collector of ancient manuscripts, so much integrated in the circles of Italian humanists that his house and library in Venice were frequented by literates and artists such as Bembo, Giovio, Tiziano and Sansovino. He was also familiar with the heterodox movements, as shown by his acquaintance with Pietro Carnesacchi and other "heretics".⁵⁵¹ This network of intellectual relationships certainly included also Giovanni Guidiccioni, whom Aretino described as Diego Hurtado's intimate friend.⁵⁵²

⁵⁴⁹ «Scrissi a messer Giovanni da Castel Bolognese, il quale è in Faenza, che mi mandasse una credenza di quei lavori bianchi per presentarveli...L'ha mandata, e senza che io l'abbia veduta, l'ho consegnata a messer Annibale Pauluzio perché ve la mandi». Guidiccioni, *Le lettere*, vol. II, n. 307, 209-210.

⁵⁵⁰ «Veramente il candido latte di cui risplende la tersa delicatezza di sì fatti vasi mi rappresenta la schietta purità del bello animo vostro; e perciò li ho accettati con lo affetto del core e in lui ripostane la memoria, poi che a la vaghezza de le predette maioliche non è piaciuto ch'io abbia riposte lor medesime in casa. Don Diego Urtado di Mendoza, vostro amico grande e mio signor caro, innamoratosene per fama, le desiderò talmente mezze che l'ottenne tutte...vi mando con questa lettera la mia effigie coniatà in ariento, solo perché la quasi sua viva presenza col farvi fede ch'io sono, vi mova a servirlo [Luigi Caravello] come so che veramente servirete». Pietro Aretino, *Tutte le opere di Pietro Aretino. Lettere. Il primo e il secondo libro*, edited by Francesco Flora (Milano: Arnoldo Mondadori editore, 1960), Il libro n. 188, 679-680. On Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, see Erika Spivakovsky, *Son of the Alhambra. Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, 1504-1575* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1970); Ignacio Navarrete, "Juan de Valdés, Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, and the Imperial Style in Spanish Poetry", *Renaissance and Reformation / Renaissance et Réforme*, vol. 28, n. 3 (Summer/ été 2004), 3-25; Stefania Pastore, "Una Spagna anti-papale. Gli anni italiani di Diego Hurtado de Mendoza", *Roma moderna e contemporanea*, vol. XV, n. 1-3 (2007), 63-94.

⁵⁵¹ Pastore, "Una Spagna anti-papale", in particular 69-73.

⁵⁵² See the letter cited at note 550 in this chapter.

3.3.4 The Funeral Monument

On 26 October 1541, Annibal Caro wrote to Giovanni Guidiccioni's sister Isabetta Arnolfini⁵⁵³ to comfort her after the recent death of the Lucchese literate.⁵⁵⁴ In the letter, Caro reminded her of his long-lasting acquaintance with Guidiccioni, whom he described as "a master, who was for me like a father, a patron, who loved me as a brother, a friend and benefactor."⁵⁵⁵ In his consolatory depiction of Giovanni Guidiccioni, Caro remembered the care of the Lucchese literate for the corrupt practices of his time, the shameful slavery of Italy, the discord among princes, and the danger that threatened Christian religion and the government of the Church.⁵⁵⁶ He also recalled that Guidiccioni's dedication to his diplomatic duties had in the last months of his life been accompanied by his desire to retire, to dedicate himself to literary studies, and to rest in the expectation of the death that Giovanni perceived to be imminent. In this regard, Caro affirmed that Guidiccioni had chosen the place for his tomb and had designed it.⁵⁵⁷

Giovanni Guidiccioni was buried in the Church of San Francesco in Lucca. As is recalled in the dedicatory inscription at the base of the sarcophagus, Giovanni's funeral monument (the third one on the right wall, fig. 28-29) was commissioned by his uncle Bartolomeo and his

⁵⁵³ On Isabetta Arnfolini, see note 339 in this chapter.

⁵⁵⁴ Caro, *Lettere Familiari*, vol. I, n. 171, 240- 247. Giovanni Guidiccioni died on 26 July 1541.

⁵⁵⁵ «*Avendo perduto un padrone, che m'era in loco di padre, un signore che m'amava da fratello, un amico, e un benefattore*». *Ibid.*, 240.

⁵⁵⁶ «*[la morte] l'ha tolto da quell'affanno che si pigliava continuamente de la malvagità de gli uomini, de' corrotti costumi di questa età, de l'indegna servitù d'Italia, de l'ostinata discordia de' principi, del manifesto di spregio e del vicino pericolo, che vedea de la fede, e de la giurisdizione apostolica*». *Ibid.*, 243-244.

⁵⁵⁷ «*Le quali [l'ultime sue disposizioni] non furono, se non di radunare e di riveder le sue composizioni, cercare di scaricarsi de' suoi beneficii. pensare a la fortuna de' posterì, eleggersi il loco, e farsi fino a disegnare il modello de la sepoltura*». *Ibid.*, 244. Carlo Minutoli recalls the monument as being designed by Giovanni Guidiccioni. Minutoli, *Sulla vita e le opere di Monsignor Giovanni Guidiccioni*.

brother Antonio.⁵⁵⁸ Since in the inscription Bartolomeo Guidiccioni is mentioned only as Cardinal and not as Bishop of Lucca, as he became in 1546, the monument can possibly be dated between 1541 and 1546.⁵⁵⁹ It consists of a classicizing aedicule, with Doric columns sustaining a triangular pediment and metopes adorned by the emblems of the deceased. Sculpted curtains introduce a niche decorated by a painted starry ceiling. In the opening, a full-length seated Madonna with Child stands above the sarcophagus, which is sustained by lion paws. The statue of Giovanni Guidiccioni lays upon it. Guidiccioni is portrayed in the episcopal garment⁵⁶⁰ and is represented as resting, with his head leant on his right arm and his left foot barely raised.

⁵⁵⁸ On Bartolomeo and Antonio Guidiccioni, see chapter 2.1.

⁵⁵⁹ «Ioanni Guidiccione, presuli Forisemproni, viro multa virtute literatura ingenii dexteritate ornato, legatione apud Cesare urbis Flaminiae Picenique gubernatione cum laude functo, Pauli III obsequiis domi militiaeque praeclare exercito, vixit annos XLI. Bartolomaeus cardinalis patruus et Antonius frater posunt». On the dating of the monument, see Rudolph, “Appunti per Vincenzo Civitali”, 78. See also Rudolph, “CIVITALI, Vincenzo”.

⁵⁶⁰ The portrait can be easily compared with Guidiccioni's image on Cesati's medal. Alessandro Pompeo Berti, in his *Life* of Giovanni Guidiccioni, recalls another portrait of the Luchese literate, which was preserved in the Guidiccioni villa of Carignano. In the portrait, Giovanni Guidiccioni held in one hand a sonnet (CXX; n. 69 in Guidiccioni, *Rime*, 72) he had dedicated to Annibal Caro: «un antico ritratto del Guidiccione in piedi, conservato nella villa de' Signori Guidiccioni a Carignano, che tiene in mano il sonetto da lui scritto al Caro, che comincia Per me da questo mio romito monte / Men noioso, e più bel del vaticano & c. con la data a piè d'esso così: Da Carignano a' 27 di Maggio 1537». Alessandro Pompeo Berti, *Opere di monsignor Giovanni Guidiccioni vescovo di Fossombrone raccolte dalle più antiche edizioni, e da' manoscritti, ora la prima volta pubblicate, aggiuntavi la vita dell'autore, dal padre Alessandro Pompeo Berti della Congregazione della Madre di Dio. Tomo primo* (Genova: Stamperia Lerziana, 1749), XLII. Giovanni Guidiccioni's portrait in the villa of Carignano is recalled also in Eugenio Lazzareschi and Fernando Pardi, *Lucca. Nella storia, nell'arte, nell'industria*. Ristampa anastatica dell'edizione originale del 1942 (Lucca: Maria Pacini Fazzi Editore, 1978), 133-135: «è smarrita forse per sempre, l'altra maestosa sembianza del ricordato vescovo di Fossombrone, già conservata nella sua villa non lontana da Forci, a Carignano». See also Guidiccioni, *Rime*, 200.

Stella Rudolph, recalling an attribution made by Placido Campetti,⁵⁶¹ recognized the monument as a work of the Lucchese sculptor and engineer Vincenzo Civitali.⁵⁶² As the scholar highlighted, the reference to Civitali was coherent with the dating of the monument, unlike the previous attributions to Lorenzetto (proposed by Jacob Burckhardt),⁵⁶³ and to Baccio da Montelupo (suggested by Eugenio Lazzareschi⁵⁶⁴ and recalled by Isa Belli Barsali).⁵⁶⁵ Rudolph supported her proposal through the comparison between the funeral monument of Giovanni Guidiccioni and other works that the Lucchese historiography ascribed to Vincenzo Civitali: in particular, the *Cappella del Sacramento* in the Cathedral of Lucca (fig. 30); the sculptures of the *cantorie* in the Church of San Paolino; and the Madonna with Child and two shield-bearing panthers in the external niches of Porta Santa Maria, still in Lucca (fig. 31).⁵⁶⁶ In addition, the scholar further attributed the inspiration of the Guidiccioni monument to the upper part of Michelangelo's tomb of Julius II, with the full-length Madonna standing above the figure of the deceased, represented as raised on the sarcophagus. This inspiration to the artistic

⁵⁶¹ Campetti, *Guida di Lucca*, 103.

⁵⁶² Rudolph, "Appunti per Vincenzo Civitali". See also Rudolph, "CIVITALI, Vincenzo". On Vincenzo Civitali, see chapter 2.1.

⁵⁶³ Jacob Burckhardt, *Der Cicerone. Eine Anleitung zum Genuss der Kunstwerke Italiens* (Basel: Schweighauser'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1855), 642.

⁵⁶⁴ Eugenio Lazzareschi, *Lucca* (Bergamo: Istituto Italiano di Arti Grafiche, 1931), 137.

⁵⁶⁵ Belli Barsali, *Guida di Lucca*, 147.

⁵⁶⁶ Rudolph, "Appunti per Vincenzo Civitali". For the attribution of the cited works to Vincenzo Civitali, see: Tommaso Trenta, "Memorie intorno alla famiglia dei Civitali", in *Memorie e Documenti per servire all'Istoria del Ducato di Lucca* (Lucca: presso Francesco Bertini, 1822), 79-86; Enrico Ridolfi, *L'arte in Lucca studiata nella sua Cattedrale* (Lucca: Canovetti, 1882), 236-248; Enrico Ridolfi, "I discendenti di Matteo Civitali", *Archivio Storico Italiano*, serie V, vol. IV (1889), 202-247; Placido Campetti, *Guida di Lucca. Con notizie storiche della città e dei suoi monumenti, vedute, pianta topografica, ecc.* (Lucca: Stabilimento Topografico G. Giusti), 1912, 30, 74; G. Barsotti, *Lucca sacra. Guida storico-artistico-religiosa di Lucca* (Lucca: Libreria Editrice Baroni, 1923), 90, 308, 387; Belli Barsali, *Guida di Lucca*, 44.

production of the Roman context was motivated, in her opinion, by the close relationships between the Guidiccioni family and the Church of Rome and would also find expression in the Guidiccioni Palace, which she also attributed to Vincenzo Civitali.⁵⁶⁷ As has been previously noted,⁵⁶⁸ the Guidiccioni Palace has been definitively dated at the second half of the 16th century and attributed to the project of the Lucchese architect Agostino Lupi, thus denying the possible intervention of Vincenzo Civitali. The attribution to Civitali of Giovanni Guidiccioni's funeral monument is in turn problematic, as the works that Stella Rudolph proposed as elements of comparison cannot be certainly ascribed to Civitali's activity.⁵⁶⁹

It is not possible to determine whether or not the monument reflects the project that Giovanni Guidiccioni might have designed. It belongs to a typology of a wall funeral monument, framed by an architectural structure and characterized by the figure of the deceased sleeping, with the head raised on the sarcophagus and the Virgin and Child on top of it, which is well-attested in sixteenth-century central Italy. In the Lucchese context, this type is illustrated by the funeral monument of Giano Grillo in the Church of Santa Maria dei Servi (1546, fig. 32),⁵⁷⁰ which Isa Belli Barsali attributed to Raffaello da Montelupo.⁵⁷¹ Like the Guidiccioni monument, this latter is characterized by a classicizing sarcophagus enclosed by a triangular pediment, with the half-length group of the Virgin and Child in low relief included in a round above. This model of funeral monument was certainly inspired by Roman prototypes, especially Andrea Sansovino's funeral monuments of Ascanio Sforza (1505, fig. 33) and Girolamo Basso Della Rovere (1507, fig. 34), in the Church of Santa Maria del Popolo.⁵⁷² In Tuscany, an analogous typology is attested, among the other examples, by the funeral

⁵⁶⁷ Rudolph, "Appunti per Vincenzo Civitali".

⁵⁶⁸ See chapter 2.1.

⁵⁶⁹ On the works that can be certainly referred to Vincenzo Civitali, see Nieri, "Agostino Lupi architetto lucchese", 40. See also chapter 2.1.

⁵⁷⁰ Rudolph, "Appunti per Vincenzo Civitali", 78.

⁵⁷¹ Belli Barsali, *Guida di Lucca*, 132.

⁵⁷² Rudolph, "Appunti per Vincenzo Civitali", 78.

monument of Matteo Bandini (1520ca., fig. 35), in the museum of San Matteo in Pisa, which has been attributed to Pietro Aprili's school.⁵⁷³ It is characterized by the figure of the deceased resting on the sarcophagus: like in the Guidiccioni monument, the head is realistically portrayed and sustained by the right arm, whereas the left leg is bent. A similar model is shown in forms particularly close to the monument of Giano Grillo also by the funeral monument of Mario Maffei, in the Cathedral of Volterra (1537, fig. 36).⁵⁷⁴ With regard to these examples, the Guidiccioni monument displays a closer integration of sculpture and architecture and a tridimensional development of the group of the Madonna with Child, which is treated as a full-relief sculpture. As Stella Rudolph further underlined, both these features characterize the Ramazzotti monument in the Church of San Michele in Bosco (1530-33) in Bologna, by Alfonso Lombardi (fig. 37).⁵⁷⁵ The Ramazzotti monument also

⁵⁷³ Pisa, Museo Nazionale di San Matteo, inv. 4948. Before entering the collection of the museum, the monument was in the portico of the Church of Santa Croce in Fossabanda and in the second cloister of the Church of San Francesco in Pisa. *Alla ricerca di un'identità. Le pubbliche collezioni d'arte a Pisa fra Settecento e Novecento*, edited by Mariagiulia Burrelli (Pontedera: Bandecchi e Vivaldi, 1999), 81. On the monument, see in particular Roberto Paolo Ciardi, "Il Cinquecento", in Roberto Paolo Ciardi and others, eds., *Scultura a Pisa tra Quattro e Seicento* (Firenze: Cantini, 1987), 117-119.

⁵⁷⁴ The monument of Mario Maffei has been mainly attributed to Giovanni Angelo Montorsoli, according to the narration of Vasari. Vasari, *Le vite* (1568), vol. V, 539. Gigetta Dalli Regoli, followed by Marco Campigli, proposed an attribution to Giovanni de' Rossi. Gigetta Dalli Regoli, *Silvius magister. Silvio Cosini e il suo ruolo nella scultura toscana del primo Cinquecento* (Galatina: Congedo Editore, 1991), 45-50; Marco Campigli, *Silvio Cosini. Scultore di marmo tra la Toscana e il Veneto*. Tesi di Dottorato (Università degli Studi di Udine, 2005/2006), 141-142. A similar typology – however with the deceased awake on the sarcophagus and without the Madonna and Child – is also attested by the monument of Raffaele Maffei in the Church of San Lino in Volterra, which was realized by Silvio Cosini between 1530 and 1532. Dalli Regoli, *Silvius magister*, 45-50 and Campigli, *Silvio Cosini*, 131-150.

⁵⁷⁵ Rudolph, "Appunti per Vincenzo Civitali", note 13, 85. The Ramazzotti monument is reproduced in *Alfonso Lombardi. Lo scultore a Bologna*, edited by

displays the idea of the Madonna in a space framed by curtains, which in Lucca could be traced to Matteo Civitali's altar of *Sacramento*, in the Church of San Frediano.⁵⁷⁶ Furthermore, the association of the image of the Madonna under a curtain with the figure of the deceased laying on the sarcophagus could be seen in the funeral chapel of the Turini family in the Cathedral of Pescia.⁵⁷⁷ Indeed, Pescia was closely connected to the Lucchese cultural context, although it had been under the political control of Florence since 1519.⁵⁷⁸ Projected before the death of the papal datary Baldassarre Turini, in 1543, by Giuliano di Baccio d'Agnolo, the Turini chapel was characterized by the presence of Raphael's *Madonna of the Baldachin* over the altar: a canonical pictorial representation of the image of the Virgin with Child under a drapery. On the right wall, the funeral monument of Leo X's datary (fig. 38) recalls Michelangelo's Tomb of Julius II in the position of the deceased raising his chest over the sarcophagus.⁵⁷⁹ Baldassarre Turini's funeral monument was started by

Graziano Campanini and Daniela Sinigalliesi (Bologna: Editrice Compisitori, 2007), 66-67.

⁵⁷⁶ Rudolph, "Appunti per Vincenzo Civitali", note 13, 85.

⁵⁷⁷ On the Turini chapel, see in particular Claudia Conforti, "Architettura e culto della memoria: la committenza di Baldassarre Turini datario di Leone X", in *Baldassarre Peruzzi, pittura scena e architettura nel Cinquecento*, edited by Marcello Fagiolo and Maria Teresa Madonna (Roma: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana fondata da Giovanni Treccani, 1987), 603-628, especially 619-628); Emanuele Pellegrini, "Un imperatore, un papa ed un mecenate: Baldassarre Turini a Pescia", in id., *Da Raffaello a Maratti. Artisti e committenti in Valdinievole* (Pisa: Edizioni ETS, 2007), 47-79.

⁵⁷⁸ In 1519, Leo X removed the dioceses of Pescia from Lucca's authority. See chapter 1.1.

⁵⁷⁹ According to Claudia Conforti, the tomb of Baldassarre Turini *senior* (an ancestor of datary Baldassarre Turini) on the left wall was executed by Raffaello da Montelupo. Conforti, "Architettura e culto della memoria", 626. On the other hand, Emanuele Pellegrini has attributed to Raffaello da Montelupo the execution of part of the funeral monument of datary Baldassarre Turini. Pellegrini, "Un imperatore, un papa ed un mecenate".

Pierino da Vinci and completed after the artist's death in the 1550s,⁵⁸⁰ that is soon afterwards the Guidiccioni monument was realized. Like the Guidiccioni monument, it was the expression of a local patronage closely associated with the Roman context.⁵⁸¹ In comparison with the Guidiccioni monument, it displayed artistic choices even closer connected to the Roman artistic background. The Guidiccioni monument rather re-elaborated Roman typologies in a local language and through the likely mediation of local interpretation of those same Roman models.

Compared to its closest models – the monument of Giano Grillo and the Ramazzotti monument – the funeral monument of Giovanni Guidiccioni is characterized by a plainer interpretation of classicizing inspiration, with a reduction of decorative elements and pure architectural forms. This essential architectural language is consistent with the well-defined plastic articulation of the sculptures, which, on the other hand, appear rigid in the definition of the details (the hands, the feet, the drapery) and in the expression of the movement of the figures. In this regard, the artistic solutions of the Guidiccioni monument find a correspondence in the majestic and clear language that Vincenzo Civitali displayed in the altar of the Church of Santa Maria Forisportam, as well as in the tidy architectural style shown by the altars of the Cathedral of San Martino (fig. 39). These latter were commissioned in the second half of the 16th century by Bishop Alessandro I Guidiccioni to Agostino Lupi, the architect who also worked at the project of the Guidiccioni Palace.⁵⁸² In the lack of any sculpture that can be certainly attributed to Vincenzo Civitali as well as to Agostino Lupi these comparisons cannot confirm the attribution of the Guidiccioni monument to either one of these two

⁵⁸⁰ The contract between Turini's heirs and Pierino da Vinci is dated 1552. Conforti, *"Architettura e culto della memoria"*, 627-628 and Pellegrini, *"Un imperatore, un papa ed un mecenate"*.

⁵⁸¹ Pellegrini, *"Un imperatore, un papa ed un mecenate"*, 77.

⁵⁸² On Alessandro Guidiccioni and the decoration of the altars of Lucca Cathedral, see chapters 1.2.1 and 2.2.1. In 1589, Agostino Lupi substituted the Florentine sculptor Jacopo di Zanobi Piccardi for drawing and supervising the execution of the altars of the Cathedral of Lucca. Nieri, *"Agostino Lupi architetto lucchese"*, 49-50.

artists. However, they offer further elements of reflection on the continuity of the artistic choices that the Guidiccioni family displayed in Lucca. In particular, the monument indicates, other than the likely artistic taste of Giovanni Guidiccioni, the central role of Bartolomeo Guidiccioni in the definition of the strategies of family representation in Lucca. The expression of these strategies in Rome is especially related to Alessandro Guidiccioni.

4. Alessandro Guidiccioni (1489-1552): Celebrating the Family Power in Rome

4.1 In the service of the Farnese Family

Alessandro Guidiccioni was born in Lucca in 1489.⁵⁸³ The son of Aldobrando di Aldobrandino Guidiccioni, Alessandro's education and early life is almost unknown. His successive employment in administrative tasks, as well as his connections with the most important

⁵⁸³ The main studies on Alessandro Guidiccioni are: Francesco Marti and Michele Giustiniani, *Historia ampliata di Tivoli scritta dal canonico Francesco Marti, nobile e giureconsulto tiburtino. Con due libri De' vescovi e de' governatori di Tivoli, scritti dall'illustrissimo abbate Michele Giustiniani, patritio genovese de' signori di Scio* (Roma: per Filippo Maria Mancini, 1665), 143-145; *I manoscritti Torrigiani donati al R. Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Descrizione e saggio* (Firenze: M. Cellini, 1877), 424; *Concilium Tridentinum. Diariorum, actorum, epistularum, tractatumum. Nova collectio*, edited by Societas Goerresiana (Friburgi Brisgoviae: Herder, 1904), vol. 4, *ad ind.*; A. M. Boselli, "Il carteggio del card. Alessandro Farnese conservato nella "Palatina" di Parma", *Archivio storico per le provincie parmensi*, n. 21 (1921), 126; Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica*, vol. III, 94; Pastor, *Storia dei Papi*, vol. V, *ad ind.*; *Correspondance des nonces en France. Capodiferro, Dandino et Guidiccione 1541-1546. Légations des cardinaux Farnèse et Sadolet et missions d'Ardinghello, de Grimani et de Hieronimo da Correggio*, éditée par J. Lestocquoy (Rome: Presses de l'Université Grégorienne; Paris: Éditions E. de Boccard, 1963), 336-442; Berengo, *Nobili e mercanti*, *ad. ind.*; Guidiccioni, *Le lettere*, *ad. ind.*; Adorni Braccesi, «Una città infetta», *ad ind.*; Louise Smith Bross, *The Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia: a Study in the Development of Art, Architecture and Patronage in Counter Reformation Rome*. The University of Chicago, Department of Art History, Ph.D., 1994, University Microfilms, Inc., Ann Arbor, Michigan, Vol. I-IV; Weber, *Legati e governatori dello Stato Pontificio*, 719; Alain Tallon, *La France et le Concile de Trente (1518-1563)* (Rome: École française de Rome, 1997), *ad ind.*; Simona Feci, *ad vocem* "GUIDICCIONI, Alessandro", in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Roma: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia italiana, 2003), vol. 61, 313-315; Agosti, "Intorno alla cappella Guidiccioni".

Lucchese commercial companies in European markets, suggest his training in the art of trade, which had such a central role in the education of Lucca aristocracy. Alessandro's religious and diplomatic career was fostered, as was the case with his cousin Giovanni, by his uncle Bartolomeo Guidiccioni.⁵⁸⁴ Thanks to the good offices of Bartolomeo Guidiccioni, on 21 August 1535 Alessandro entered the Papal Chancellery, which had been assigned to Cardinal Alessandro Farnese only a few days previously. Until 1542, he was occupied in the administration of the massive income of the young cardinal, which included the rich Archbishopric of Avignon. In 1538, he is mentioned among the *familiars* of Cardinal Farnese.⁵⁸⁵ In 1541, in the accounts of the expenditure relating to the staging of Machiavelli's *Clizia* in the Palace of the Cancelleria, he is recalled as *maestro di casa* of Alessandro Farnese, in place of Giovanni Ricci.⁵⁸⁶ With this key position in the Farnese family, he was able to ensure that the diplomatic missions of his patron were financed by the network of the Lucchese companies on European markets.⁵⁸⁷ At the same time, he protected his family interests, defending

⁵⁸⁴ Feci, "GUIDICCIONI, Alessandro", 313.

⁵⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸⁶ Alessandro Guidiccioni's entry into service as "*maestro di casa*" of Alessandro Guidiccioni was determined by Giovanni Ricci's leaving to Naples. At the same time, Ricci's substitute, Giovanni Ugolini, accompanied the young Ottavio Farnese to the Flanders. The change of the *maestro di casa* is registered by the different signature in the payments to the bankers for the expenses of Palazzo Farnese. Guidiccioni's entry into service is documented in ASNa, *Archivio farnesiano*, 1849, f. 25v. François-Charles Uginet, *Le Palais Farnèse à travers les documents financiers (1535-1612)* (Rome: École Française de Rome, 1980), 22. See also Agosti, "Intorno alla cappella Guidiccioni", note 24, 265. The representation of Machiavelli's *Clizia*, in the version emended by Francesco Maria Molza, was commissioned by Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, with payments to Perino del Vaga and Vignola for the costumes and the setting. On Perino del Vaga's collaboration to this event, see Alessandro Cecchi, "Studio di costume di guerriero per uno spettacolo" and "Studio di costume di guerriero per uno spettacolo e studio di testa con elmo fantastico" in Parma, *Perino del Vaga: tra Raffaello e Michelangelo*, nn. 163 and 164, 294-295.

⁵⁸⁷ Feci, "GUIDICCIONI, Alessandro", 313.

in front of Pope Paul III his cousin Giovanni (papal nuncio at the Court of Charles V) against the accusations of Giovanni Poggio and Ambrogio Recalcati.⁵⁸⁸ In the same years, the intimacy between Alessandro and Giovanni Guidiccioni is further documented by Giovanni's letters, in which Alessandro is often mentioned as the administrator of the economic rents of his younger cousin.⁵⁸⁹

Meanwhile, Alessandro had received the Canonicate of the Church of Saint Peter in Rome (1539), had been appointed the Governor of Tivoli (1540) and had become *maestro di casa* of Pope Paul III (1539). In 1541, he was nominated Bishop of Ajaccio, a position that he held until 1548.⁵⁹⁰ Because of his closeness to the Pope, he was in charge of several administrative tasks that included public responsibilities. Among his various offices, he participated in the operations of the Salt War, which opposed the Church of Rome and the Colonna family:⁵⁹¹ in 1541, he took possession of the Castle of Palliano; in 1542, he was assigned the management of the territories belonging to the Colonna that the Pope's army had conquered; and in 1543, he was nominated Governor of Marino and Frascati.⁵⁹²

In 1544, Alessandro Guidiccioni was appointed papal nuncio to France. In this important diplomatic position, he mainly acted as an informer at the Court of Rome about relevant political events, although he did not play an active role in these. In particular, he sent detailed descriptions of the French expedition against England that was aimed to reconquer Boulogne to the Papal Court. He also provided exhaustive information about the matrimonial politics of the French monarchy, which, according to the alliance established by the Treaty of Cr py (1544), was intended to promote the marriage between the Duke of Orl ans and a representative

⁵⁸⁸ *Ibid.* On this episode involving Giovanni Guidiccioni, see chapter 3.1.

⁵⁸⁹ Guidiccioni, *Le lettere, ad ind.* On the relationship between Alessandro and Giovanni Guidiccioni, see also Agosti, "Intorno alla cappella Guidiccioni".

⁵⁹⁰ Feci, "GUIDICCIONI, Alessandro", 314.

⁵⁹¹ On the Salt War, see chapter 3.1.

⁵⁹² Feci, "GUIDICCIONI, Alessandro", 314.

of the House of Habsburg.⁵⁹³ Guidiccioni's most intense diplomatic effort was the convocation of the French representatives at the Council of Trento. In this regard, his diplomatic action was frustrated by the hesitant and ambiguous politics of Francis I, who was in charge of the designation of the delegates. Indeed, after the death of the Duke of Orléans in 1545 and with the consequent vanishing of the possibility of a marriage alliance with the Habsburgs, the French king became closer to the Protestants, who were ready to help him reconquer Boulogne. Thus, he delayed the dispatch of a higher number of delegates to Trento.⁵⁹⁴

Discouraged by failure in his diplomatic tasks, Alessandro Guidiccioni expressed the desire to be recalled to Rome since December 1545.⁵⁹⁵ On 8 May 1545, he asked cardinals Guido Ascanio Sforza and Alessandro Farnese to intercede with the Pope, in order to favor his departure from France.⁵⁹⁶ He returned to Rome in July 1546. A few months later, he succeeded Francesco De Landis in the prestigious position of Commendator of the Order of Santo Spirito and Governor of the Church and of the Hospital of Santo Spirito in Sassia, a position that he officially

⁵⁹³ On these reports, see *Correspondance des nonces en France*, 335-442. On the international politics of France at the opening of the Council of Trento, see Tallon, *La France et le Concile de Trente*, in particular chapters IV, "L'Assemblée de Melun et la preparation du Concile en France", and V, "Une participation symbolique", 117-189.

⁵⁹⁴ *Correspondance des nonces en France*, VII-XVI; Tallon, *La France et le Concile de Trente*, 149-189.

⁵⁹⁵ Feci, "GUIDICCIONI, Alessandro", 315.

⁵⁹⁶ «Confidando...che per bontà di S. B.ne et intercessione del mio signor Farnese et di V. S. Rma [il tempo di permanenza in Francia] non debba esser molto longo, così perché sarà pur giusta cosa haver compassione a casi miei, massime essendo entrato nel secondo anno, come perché desiderarei pur anch'io questo poco di vita che mi avanza poter pascermi della presentia di S. S. et della loro, ma tutto però sia detto con bona gratia di esso, et senza diservitio suo, perché prima che discontenarla, voglio supportar ogni pena, nonché questa della corte di Francia, fino a posporre l'interesse proprio della vita.» Letter written by Alessandro Guidiccioni to Guido Ascanio Sforza. *Correspondance des nonces en France*, 355.

took up on 7 January 1547.⁵⁹⁷ He died in Rome in 1552 and was buried in the Church of Santo Spirito, as he had established in his testament.⁵⁹⁸ In the same document, Alessandro had also determined that the incomes of his properties in Lucca, destined to his nephew Nicola, were used to “make a little memory of his tomb” (hence a cenotaph) next to the grave of Giovanni Guidiccioni.⁵⁹⁹ Immediately before his death, according to a fashion typical among Roman elites, he had bought a “*vigna*” in “loco de la Trinità”;⁶⁰⁰ previously, he had bought another *vigna* near to the Church of Santa Maria del Popolo. The *vigna* “del Popolo” and its associated wine production are recalled in the inventory of Alessandro Guidiccioni’s goods that was compiled before his death. It includes precious silver, which attests to Guidiccioni’s rich lifestyle, and valuable textiles, which are described in greater detail, as was common in the inventories of the Lucchese nobles-merchants.⁶⁰¹ The absence of

⁵⁹⁷ Guidiccioni’s possession of the church and hospital of Santo Spirito in Sassia is recalled in ASR, *Ospedale di Santo Spirito* (from now on OSS), b. 237, 23r. See also Smith Bross, *The Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia*, 124, note 58.

⁵⁹⁸ A testament written in 1550, which attested Alessandro Guidiccioni’s will of being buried in his family chapel in the Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia, is recalled in BSL, ms. 1115, f. 162. Another testament was recorded on 16 September 1547: it does not mention the chapel, which Guidiccioni bought in 1548. ASR, *Notai Auditor Camerae*, prot. 3778, f. 202.

⁵⁹⁹ «*un poco di memoria di una sepoltura appresso a quella della b.m. di mons. Giovanni Guidiccione vescovo di Fossombrone*». BSL, ms. 1115, c. 162. For an interpretation of this episode as an evidence of the closeness between Alessandro and Giovanni Guidiccioni, see Agosti, “Intorno alla cappella Guidiccioni”. 262.

⁶⁰⁰ The purchase was recorded in 1552 by notary Curtius Saccoccus. ASR, *Collegio dei Notai Capitolini*, prot. 1509, f. 260. See also Rodolfo Lanciani, *Storia degli scavi di Roma e notizie intorno le collezioni romane di antichità* (Roma: Edizioni Quasar, 1990), vol. III, 107.

⁶⁰¹ The inventory was recorded by notary Melchior de Valerius, on 23 December 1546. It was revised on 20 October 1547. ASC, *Archivio Urbano*, sez. I, vol. 767, ff. 324 ss.: «*Inventario di tutte le robbe che io me’ trovo a questo di primo d’ottobre alla mia gionta in Roma tornato di Franza. Argenti: sei piatti grandi d’argento?; ventiquattro piatti mezzani d’argento; ventiquattro tondi piccoli d’argento; una tazza d’argento dorata col suo coperchio lissa; una tazza d’argento dorata col suo coperchio fatta ?; una tazza d’argento fatta a punta di diamante; una tazza d’argento simil; doi tazze d’argento*

biancho; quattro candellieri d'argenti; doi boccaletti d'argento; un boccale d'argento grande da dar acqua alle mani; un bacile d'argento; ?; quattro curchiarì d'argento; doi curchiarì d'argento dorati e poi sei altri churchiarì novi; una saliera grande d'argento dorata; doi saliere grandi dorate alla genovese; una coltelliera con XV coltelli d'osso bianco con gli fornimenti d'argento; un churchiaro e una forchetta dorata ?. Guradaroba: una veste di zibellino con su' maniche coperta di raso nero, una veste di ? grande coperta di raso negro; una veste grande di foina coperta di taffetà negro; una veste grande di ? coperta di damasco lionato; un saio di foina coperta di damasco negro; una vesticula di foina coperta di raso negro; una vesticula di nardio di coniglio senza coperta; una veste di velluto negro alla francese foderata di raso; una veste di damasco lunga alla francese; una veste di velluto negro di firenze; una vesticciola da di raso negro simil foderata di tela; una vesticciola di raso negro foderata di velluto; una vesticciola di taffetà negro di ?; na veste di taffetà negro longa alla francese; una vesticciola di taffetà negro vecchia; una veste d'ostada negra alla francese; un gabbano di giamellotto negro; una cappa da cappella con sua pelliccia di saia paonaza; un mantello pontificale di panno paonazo con suo cappuccio; un mantello simil di panno paonazzo con suo cappuccio; un mantello con sua sottana di saia paonaza appanata novi; un mantello di panno paonazo con sua sottane et maniche; un mantello con sua sottana di raso paonazzo; una sottana di panno negro; un mantelletto di rascia negro; un mantello di panno paonazzo qn piove per Roma; una veste di panno paonazzo foderata di raso lionato; una sottana et manetelletto di ciamillotto paonazzo novi; un mantelletto con sua sottana et maniche di ciamillotto paonazzo; un mantelletto con sua sottana et maniche di ciamillotto negro; una sottana di saia di seta lionata; un robbone di ciambillotto lionato per cavalcare; un robbone di rascia paonazza per cavalcare; una mantellina di scarlatto da viaggio; un feltro rosso; un par di calze di panno con ? di velluto negro; un par di calze di panno nove; tre giubboni di raso negro con un'imbottita; un colletto di raso negro foderato di velluto peloso; doi colletti di scamuso, un foderato di saia rossa; doi peze d'ostada negra, et una lionata; un resto d'una pezza di ciambellotto cangiante; un resto d'una pezza di cimabellotto paonazzo; un resto di cimabellotto lionato; un resto di cimabellotto negro; doi cornetti; un cappello di taffetà negro; tre cappelli di vescovo, un pontificale, una mitra; frange per un letto di seta cremoxi; camicie nove et mezzo di saia di seta cremoxi; doi coseini di saia di seta paonazza; cinque coseini di velluto verde; doi coseini di velluto rosso et negri et fatti astratti; un robbone di panno paonazzo da cavaliere. Cappella: un calice di argento dorato con sua patena et doi ampolle; una pianeta di raso cremoxi figurato con suo fregio di broccato foderata di taffetà turchino con sua stola et manipole tutto del midesmo; una camicia con suo amitto et cordoni per la persona mia; un'altra pianeta con suo paramento, stola et manipole di damasco broccatello con suo corporale del medemo; camicia con suo amitto

paintings and sculptures among Alessandro Guidiccioni's belongings is in contrast with his rich lifestyle as well as with the lavish decorative intervention that he commissioned in the Church and in the Hospital of Santo Spirito in Sassia. On the other hand, it is not possible to exclude the existence of another inventory that might include something different from everyday objects.⁶⁰² As will be said, this hypothesis is supported by Alessandro Guidiccioni's specific attention for artistic problems, which is shown by the awareness of his artistic choices in the decoration of the Church interior and of his family Chapel. As will be clarified, Guidiccioni's interest for the artistic expressions that were displayed in the Church of Santo Spirito marks the originality of his patronage activity, beyond the coherence of his decorative intervention with the artistic solutions that were adopted in the previous decorative phase and Guidiccioni's adhesion to the Pope's will.

4.2 The Decoration of the Church and of the Hospital of Santo Spirito in Sassia

When Alessandro Guidiccioni took up the office of Commendator of Santo Spirito, he immediately started a rich and ambitious program of decoration, which led him to renovate the interiors of the church and of the hospital that he had been asked with administrating. In a few months, in 1547 and 1548, he commissioned the realization of an outstanding organ, as well as (probably) the nave ceiling and a new ciborium for the church. Shortly thereafter, Alessandro commissioned the decoration of the chapel he had chosen as the place for his burial. At the same time, he ordered a new ceiling and a ciborium for the *Corsia*

et cordoni per il cappellano; doi putti sacati; una tovaglia; una croce [...] Cantina: Bottiglie dieci di vino della vigna del popolo date alla cantina di Santo Spirito.»

⁶⁰² It is important to recall that the cited inventory was compiled soon afterwards Alessandro Guidiccioni came back from France (see the previous note). Hence, it is possible that part of his belongings was still in France when the inventory was compiled.

Sistina, the large aisle of the hospital that had been commissioned by Pope Sixtus IV nearly a century before.⁶⁰³ These interventions clearly evidence the artistic preferences of Alessandro Guidiccioni. On the other hand, they must be analyzed in the context of a wider project of renovation of the Church of Santo Spirito that, starting just before Guidiccioni's Governorship and lasting until the end of the 16th century, had strong political implications.

⁶⁰³ The Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia and the related hospital were founded in the twelfth century, on a place that, since the ninth century, had been characterized by the presence of the *Schola Saxonum*, an institution hosting Saxon pilgrims in Rome. The church was a popular stopping point along the pilgrimage route and the hospital was in turn a favorite destination for travelers, who were attracted by its reputation as the grandest hospital in Rome. In 1471, the hospital was damaged by an extended fire. Soon afterwards, Pope Sixtus IV ordered its reconstruction. The Sistine Ward was the main building of the hospital, which was composed by several constructions. This big aisle is a single hall, divided in two main branches by a dome cladding. In 1478, the walls of the *Corsia* were decorated with a frieze depicting the origins of the hospital and the most important episodes of the life of Sixtus IV. The bibliography on the hospital and on the painted cycle of the *Corsia Sistina* is extended. See, in particular, Eunice D. Howe, *The Hospital of Santo Spirito and Pope Sixtus IV* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1978); *L'antico ospedale di Santo Spirito dall'istituzione papale alla sanità del terzo millennio. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi (Roma, storico ospedale di Santo Spirito, 15-17 maggio 2001)*, edited by Virginia Cappelletti and others (Roma: Il Veltro, 2001-2002), 2 vol.; Eunice D. Howe, *Art and Culture at the Sixtine Court. Platina's "Life of Sixtus IV" and the Frescoes of the Hospital of Santo Spirito* (Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2005). The essential study on the art and architecture of the church is Smith Bross, *The Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia*. See also Emilio Lavagnino, *La Chiesa di Santo Spirito in Sassia. E il mutare del gusto a Roma al tempo del Concilio di Trento* (Torino: Ilte, 1962); Sivigliano Alloisi and Luisa Cardilli, *Santo Spirito in Saxia. Le chiese di Roma illustrate*, n.s. 34 (Roma: Istituto Nazionale di Studi Romani, Palombi Editori, 2002).

4.2.1 Art and Politics in Santo Spirito in Sassia. The Renovation of the Church under Pope Paul III

As Louise Smith Bross has outlined, the Order of Santo Spirito, since its earliest history, acted as a “charitable arm of the papacy”.⁶⁰⁴ Because of the strong dependence of the Order on the papacy, the Order’s governor, the *commendatore*, became a papal appointment from the 15th century onwards, and it was recognized as one of the most important positions in the curial hierarchy.⁶⁰⁵ This character of the Order as being a direct emanation of the papacy determined the complex of Santo Spirito becoming a privileged place to express the official position of the Church, as is shown by the constant cares of the popes in its management and organization.⁶⁰⁶ In 1538, Paul III ordered the reconstruction of the Church of Santo Spirito, which had been seriously damaged during the Sack of Rome. In the light of the political importance of the institution, this transformation seems to be an inner component of that program of *renovatio Urbis* after the tragic events of the Sack of Rome, which Paul III largely celebrated through his artistic patronage.⁶⁰⁷

⁶⁰⁴ The Order of the “Ospedalieri di Santo Spirito” was founded in Montpellier around 1175. In 1198, it was officially recognized by Pope Innocent III, who also gave the Order a building in Rome, which was transformed in the hospital. Louise Smith Bross, “Patronage and propaganda at Santo Spirito in Sassia: the role of a papal confraternity”, in *Confraternite, chiese e società. Aspetti e problemi dell’associazionismo laicale europeo in età moderna e contemporanea*, edited by Liana Bertoldi Lenoci (Fasano: Schena editore, 1994), 87. See also Smith Bross, *The Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia*.

⁶⁰⁵ The closeness between the Order and the papacy also caused the organizational structure of the confraternity of Santo Spirito to differ from that of independent lay confraternities, because the head of the confraternity was the Order’s governor. Smith Bross, “Patronage and propaganda at Santo Spirito”, 87.

⁶⁰⁶ Alloisi and Cardilli, *Santo Spirito in Saxia*, 50-51.

⁶⁰⁷ On the interpretation of the reconstruction of the Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia as a key element of the politics of Paul III, see Smith Bross, *The Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia*, 189-195, where, anyway, the focus is on the conformity of the project to the reforming zeal of the Farnese Pope. On the program of “renovation” carried out by Paul III, see, in particular, Guido Rebecchini, “After

Despite the absence of his name in contemporary documentation, Antonio da Sangallo the Younger, who was largely employed in the Farnese projects, is commonly recognized as the architect of the Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia (fig. 40-42),⁶⁰⁸ whose rebuilding was completed after Antonio's death in 1546.⁶⁰⁹ The sixteenth-century topography of the Vatican area imposed a new orientation of the structure toward Saint Peter's Basilica - a disposition that, on the other hand, also emphasized the symbolic proximity of the institution to the papacy.⁶¹⁰ The project consists of a unique wide nave, which terminates in a vaulted tribune, with semi-circular chapels on both sides (fig. 42). Corinthian pilasters separate the chapels and a stringcourse divides this lower level from the arched windows above. The façade (fig. 41) is composed of two stories of equal height. Corinthian pilasters, analogous to the ones employed on the inside, divide the lower level into five bays, with the central bay wider than the others and characterized by the presence of a portal. The upper level is divided into three bays: it is marked by a giant oculus in the central bay and scrolls at both sides, and it is completed by a tympanum that is recalled in the smaller pediment over the portal. This architectural project was influenced by several models. In particular,

the Medici. The New Rome of Pope Paul III Farnese", *I Tatti Studies in the Italian Renaissance*, vol. 11 (2007), 147-200; Massimo Firpo and Fabrizio Biferali, *"Navicula Petri". L'arte dei papi nel Cinquecento* (Roma and Bari: Laterza, 2009), 88-185; Gigliola Fragnito, *ad vocem* "PAOLO III, papa", in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Roma, Istituto dell'Enciclopedia italiana, 2014), vol. 81, 98-107.

⁶⁰⁸ See Lavagnino, *La Chiesa di Santo Spirito in Sassia*; Smith Bross, *The Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia*; Alloisi and Cardilli, *Santo Spirito in Saxia*; Eunice D. Howe, "Architecture for 'Divine Hymns'. The Organ of Antonio da Sangallo the Younger for the Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia", in *Art and Music in the Early Modern Period. Essays in honor of Franca Trinchieri Camiz*, edited by Katherine A. Mc Iver (Hants and Burlington: Ashgate, 2003), 57-90.

⁶⁰⁹ Opinions differ as to whether Sangallo rebuilt the church from its foundations or renovated the existing structure. For a discussion of the problem, see Howe, "Architecture for 'Divine Hymns'", note 35, 87-88.

⁶¹⁰ The sixteenth-century topography of the Vatican area privileged the North-South orientation. For this purpose, Antonio da Sangallo was asked to monumentalize Porta Santo Spirito. Alloisi and Cardilli, *Santo Spirito in Saxia*, 42.

Louise Smith Bross has remarked upon a decisive inspiration by Florentine fifteenth-century single nave churches, such as the monastic churches of the Badia Fiorentina and San Gallo, as well as by Roman aedicular façade types, such as the façades of Santa Maria del Popolo and San Giacomo degli Spagnoli.⁶¹¹ The architectural solutions of Santo Spirito in Sassia are especially similar to Antonio da Sangallo's projects of San Marco in Florence, San Marcello and Santa Maria in Monserrato in Rome.⁶¹² The connection between the building and the "Setta Sangallesca" is confirmed by documents that recall Antonio's brother, Giovan Battista da Sangallo, and Antonio's collaborator, Jacopo Melegghino, as being employed in the construction of the church.⁶¹³ Moreover, a member of Antonio da Sangallo's circle produced the single surviving drawing related to the construction of the Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia. The Uffizi sheet (1118 v.), attributed to Aristotile da Sangallo, represents the façade, ground-plan, nave-elevation and perspective view of the interior (fig. 43).⁶¹⁴ It possibly documents the project of the façade to be substantially completed at the architect's death

⁶¹¹ Smith Bross, *The Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia*, chapter 2, "Innovations and the Use of Traditional Forms for the Architecture of Santo Spirito in Sassia", 44-98.

⁶¹² *Ibid.*, 54-60.

⁶¹³ According to the documents discovered by Flavia Colonna, in 1541, when eight chapels had been completed, Giovan Battista da Sangallo and Jacopo Melegghino were working to the building (ASR, OSS, b. 233, ff. 102-103). Flavia Colonna, "Il ciborio della corsia sistina, l'organo e il ciborio della chiesa di Santo Spirito in Sassia: nota storico-cronologica", in *Studi in onore di Renato Cevese*, edited by Guido Beltramini and others (Vicenza: Centro Internazionale di Studi Andrea Palladio, 2000), 515.

⁶¹⁴ Firenze, Galleria degli Uffizi, Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe, 1888v. The drawing has been first published and attributed to Aristotile da Sangallo by Gustavo Giovannoni. Gustavo Giovannoni, *Saggi sull'architettura del Rinascimento* (Milano: Treves, 1931), 188-193. For a discussion of the drawing in its relationship to the architectural project of the church, see Smith Bross, *The Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia*, 71-72 and Howe, "Architecture for 'Divine Hymns'", 67-69.

in 1546.⁶¹⁵ On the other hand, the architectural works continued in the second half of the 16th century, to be completed, with the conclusion of the façade and the execution of the stairway beforehand, under Pope Sixtus V.⁶¹⁶ At the same time, the architectural project was enriched by an elaborated decoration, which, from the Farnese pontificate, was in turn carried out until the end of the Cinquecento.⁶¹⁷

⁶¹⁵ According to Eunice Howe, the Uffizi drawing documents a final stage in the construction of the church, at Antonio da Sangallo's death in 1546, when work was substantially complete, except for key points in the interior. Howe, "Architecture for 'Divine Hymns'", 67. Anyway, the construction of the façade certainly prosecuted in the following decades (see the next note).

⁶¹⁶ The portal is surmounted by the arms of Bernardino Cirillo, governor of the confraternity between 1556 and 1575. The façade is decorated by the arms of Sixtus V. In the past, the design of the façade has been attributed to Antonio Nocchi, *Il Mascarino*, who rather completed it according to the project of Antonio da Sangallo. A drawing by an anonymous Dutch artist working in Rome between 1568 and 1579, in the Museum of Stuttgart, shows the façade as being half-finished at that time. Smith Bross, *The Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia*, 71-72.

⁶¹⁷ Between 1552 and 1557, the heirs of Giulio Cesare Gonzaga commissioned Livio Agresti the decoration of the Chapel of St. Stephen. The Governorship of Bernardino Cirillo (1556-1575) saw the decoration of the Chapel of the Ascension (fourth on the right from the entrance), with the intervention of Giuseppe Valeriano, of the Chapel of the Holy Cross (fourth on the left), decorated by Pompeo Cesura, and of the Chapel of the Trinity, decorated by Livio Agresti. The Governorship of Bernardino Cirillo also saw the likely beginning of the decoration of the Chapel of the Assumption of the Virgin, in turn attributed to Livio Agresti. Between 1582 and 1595, Jacopo Zucchi executed the decoration of the tribune, with the fresco of the *Pentecost*, the monumental painting of the entrance façade, and, possibly, the decoration of the Chapel of the Holy Spirit (first on the right). In the same period, Cesare Nebbia worked to the Chapel of the Virgin of Santo Spirito. For an analysis of these interventions and a discussion of the attributions, see Smith Bross, *The Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia*. For an analysis of the decorations that were carried out during the pontificate of Sixtus V, see Antonella Pampalone, "«Sedente Sisto V». Arte e committenza a Roma in S. Spirito in Sassia", *Rassegna degli Archivi di Stato*, anno LV, n. 2-3 (maggio-dicembre 1995), 268-303.

The family crest of Commendator Francesco De Landis (1536-1545) allows for the identification of the works that belong to the initial stage of the building program. Other than the architectural project, it also included the decoration of De Landis' family chapel (the first one to the left of the altar) and the execution of the baptismal font (now in the first chapel to the left of the entrance),⁶¹⁸ as well as of the wooden stalls in the choir.⁶¹⁹ This first decorative phase also comprises two paintings on the counter-façade of the church: the *Conversion of Saul* by the Spanish painter Pedro de Rubiales (fig. 44), which, from the inscription on the predella, is dated 1545;⁶²⁰ and the *Visitation*, generally attributed to Marco Pino da Siena (fig. 45).⁶²¹ Marco Pino's canvas should be dated approximately at the same period as Roviale's work, as seems to be revealed by the analogous classicizing architectural frames, with Corinthian columns and a tympanum that recall the motifs employed in the façade.⁶²² The participation of Pedro de Rubiales and Marco Pino da Siena in the decorative program of the church confirms the continuity with the artistic patronage of the Farnese family that is indicated by the choice of Antonio da Sangallo as the chief of the building project. In fact, Pedro de Rubiales worked to Farnese decorations in the 1540s, such as

⁶¹⁸ Smith Bross, *The Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia*, 117-118.

⁶¹⁹ Howe, "Architecture for 'Divine Hymns'", 69.

⁶²⁰ The painting comes from the engraving on the same subject designed by Francesco Salviati and was first attributed to Pedro de Rubiales by Giorgio Vasari. Vasari, *Le vite* (1568), vol. VI, 545. Gonzalo Redín Michaus identified the patron of the commission in Paolino de Amicis, whom, in 1544, Francesco De Landis had appointed General Commissioner of the Order of Santo Spirito in Italy. Gonzalo Redín Michaus, *Pedro Rubiales, Gaspar Becerra y los pintores españoles en Roma, 1527-1600* (Madrid: Departamento de Historia del Arte, Instituto de Historia, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científica, 2007), 74.

⁶²¹ Andrea Zezza, *Marco Pino. L'opera completa* (Napoli: Electa Napoli, 2003), 45-47. Louise Smith Bross supposed that the coat-of-arms on the frame of the painting could be possibly linked with Mario Ruffini, the Bishop of Sarno, who was appointed Castellán of Castel Sant'Angelo after Tiberio Crispo became a cardinal in 1544. Smith Bross, *The Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia*, 123.

⁶²² Smith Bross, *The Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia*, 122-123.

the Sala dei Cento Giorni in the Palace of the Cancelleria Apostolica.⁶²³ Marco Pino was employed in Perino del Vaga's workshop in Castel Sant'Angelo in 1546, where he was paid for the histories of *Alexander the Great* in the vault of the Sala Paolina.⁶²⁴

A similar artistic background is attested by the decoration of the family chapel of Francesco De Landis, which is characterized by a combination of stucco reliefs and frescos in the vault and on the side walls (fig. 46-47 a and b). The chapel, dedicated to St. John the Evangelist,⁶²⁵ was altered in the 19th century and the remaining paintings are preserved in poor conditions (fig. 47 a and b), which make stylistic analysis problematic.⁶²⁶ The attribution of the work is complicated by the intricate information of ancient sources about it.⁶²⁷ According to Vasari, the entire painted decoration was realized by Marcello Venusti.⁶²⁸ Gaspare Celio assigned

⁶²³ For the collaboration of Pedro de Rubiales to this decoration see, in particular, Redín Michaus, *Pedro Rubiales, Gaspar Becerra y los pintores españoles*, 86-87.

⁶²⁴ *Gli affreschi di Paolo III a Castel Sant'Angelo. Progetto ed esecuzione 1543-1548*. Catalogo della mostra (Museo Nazionale di Castel Sant'Angelo, Roma 16 novembre 1981 - 31 gennaio 1982), edited by Filippa M. Aliberti Gaudio and Eraldo Gaudio (Roma: De Luca Editore, 1981). See, in particular, vol. II, 112-117 and n. 86, 138-139.

⁶²⁵ In 1615, the chapel was dedicated also to the Virgin. Pampalone, "«Sedente Sisto V»", 270, note 4.

⁶²⁶ The chapel was restored in 1615, under Commendator Pietro Campori. Then it was restored in the first half of the sixteenth century, during the reign of Antonio Cioia (1829-1849). Frescos are repainted and, in some parts, wreck by humidity. *Ibid.*

⁶²⁷ A summary of the sources and studies about the chapel is in Giovanni Baglione, *Le vite de' pittori, scultori et architetti. Dal pontificato di Gregorio XIII del 1572. In fino a' tempi di papa Urbano VIII nel 1642*, edited by Jacob Hess and Herwarth Röttgen (Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1995), vol. II, 202-203.

⁶²⁸ «Avendo detto di sopra, nella Vita di Perino del Vaga, che Marcello pittore mantovano operò molti anni sotto di lui cose che gli dierono gran nome, dico al presente, venendo più al particolare, che egli già dipinse nella chiesa di Santo Spirito la tavola e tutta la cappella di San Giovanni Evangelista, col ritratto di un commendatore di detto Santo Spirito che murò quella chiesa e fece la detta cappella; il quale ritratto è molto simile e la tavola bellissima.» Vasari, *Le vite* (1568), vol. VI, 221.

the lost altarpiece to Perino del Vaga and the remainder of the decoration to Giovan Francesco Penni.⁶²⁹ Filippo Titi in turn allocated the paintings to Marcello Venusti,⁶³⁰ whereas Giovanni Baglione had attributed to Venusti only the altarpiece and had assigned the project of the chapel to Perino del Vaga.⁶³¹ Several studies have recently recalled the hypothesis that the chapel was a project of Perino del Vaga, who would have employed different “hands” in its execution. This idea is also expressed also by Vasari and Baglione.⁶³² The identification of Perino’s collaborators remains an open critical problem, as stylistic considerations have led many to question the hypotheses concerning the participation of Marco Pino⁶³³ and Pedro de Rubiales,⁶³⁴ who

⁶²⁹ Gaspare Celio, *Memoria delli nomi dell’artefici delle pitture che sono in alcune chiese, facciate, e palazzi di Roma*, edited by Emma Zocca (Milano: Electa, 1967), 31 (92-93), 82, note 274.

⁶³⁰ Filippo Titi, *Descrizione delle pitture, sculture e architetture esposte al pubblico in Roma* (Roma: nella stamperia di Marco Pagliarini, 1763), 27.

⁶³¹ «Dentro la Basilica vecchia di S. Pietro, nelle pitture intorno alla Madonna di Giotto, ch’era sotto l’organo, aiuto con molta diligenza il suo maestro Perino; e da lui indirizzato, e con quella maniera operò in S. Spirito un altare di S. Giovanni Evangelista...Ed era usanza di Perin del Vaga d’imprendere per qualsivoglia prezzo ogni lavoro, e poi quello a’ suoi discepoli distribuiva, ed ora con le proprie pennellate, talvolta co’ cartoni, e spesso col consiglio l’opere loro raggiustava.» Baglione, *Le vite*, vol. I, 20.

⁶³² See this chapter, notes 42 and 45. Recently, this hypothesis has been particularly sustained by Simona Cappelli and Antonio Geremicca. See Simona Capelli, “Note per un esordio veneziano di Marcello Venusti, il valtellinese nella Roma di Michelangelo”, *Bollettino della Società Storica Valtellinese*, n. 61 (2008), 111-113; Antonio Geremicca, “Venusti creato di Perino del Vaga”, in *Intorno a Marcello Venusti*, edited by Barbara Agosti and Giorgio Leone (Soveria Mannelli, Catanzaro: Rubbettino Editore, 2016), 25-29.

⁶³³ The hypothesis, sustained by Louise Smith Bross, has been refused by Andrea Zezza. Smith Bross, *The Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia*, 104-117; Zezza, *Marco Pino*, 333.

⁶³⁴ The idea of Roviale’s participation to the decoration has been proposed by Lizzie Boubli, who attributes the artist a drawing at Louvre (RF 53001) related to the fresco representing *St. John Evangelist in front of Domitian*, in the vault of the chapel. Lizzie Boubli, “Saint Jean l’Évangéliste devant l’empereur Domitien”, in *Disegno, giudizio e bella maniera. Studi sul disegno italiano in onore di Catherine*

approximately in the same years were active in the realization of the paintings on the counter-façade of the church. Further case for skepticism is the intervention of Marcello Venusti, which is supported by the contemporary testament of Vasari.⁶³⁵ The attribution to “Perino’s school” is consistent with the character of the decoration, which, despite the transformations, clearly preserves the original association of stucco reliefs and frescos in a complex mainly based on Perino’s models. In particular, it has been noted that the idea of dividing the upper part of the vault into sections framing narrative episodes is expressed in a drawing at the Staatliche Graphische Sammlung in Munich (n. 34840) that represents the project for a chapel, dated around 1542 and ascribed to Perino’s school (fig. 48).⁶³⁶ It is remarkable that Perino’s workshop, in these same years also corresponding to the execution of the Landis chapel, was employed in the most important Farnese decorations.

The following analysis of Alessandro Guidiccioni’s intervention in the complex of Santo Spirito in Sassia aims to verify its connection to this

Monbeig Goguel, edited by Philippe Costamagna and others (Cinisello Balsamo, Milano: Silvana Editoriale, 2005), n. 33, 74. Redín Michaus refused the attribution of the drawing to Roviale as well as the hypothesis of Roviale’s collaboration to the decoration of the chapel. Redín Michaus, *Pedro Rubiales, Gaspar Becerra y los pintores españoles*, 75-76.

⁶³⁵ In particular, Laura Russo attributed to Venusti the frescos on the side walls. Laura Russo, “Per Marcello Venusti, pittore lombardo”, *Bollettino d’arte*, n. 76 (1990), 1-26. Antonio Geremicca, analyzing the training of Venusti in Perino’s workshop, considers the chapel a work projected by Perino and executed by his collaborators. The scholar, among the various hypotheses, prefers the attribution to Venusti, which is supported by Vasari’s text. Geremicca, “Venusti creato di Perino del Vaga”, 27-29. On the other hand, John Gere had observed that the frescos in the chapel do not show any resemblance to Venusti’s style. The scholar had rather proposed the participation to the decoration of the young Taddeo Zuccaro. John Gere, *Taddeo Zuccaro, His Development Studied in His Drawings* (London: Faber and Faber, 1969), 226, n. 226.

⁶³⁶ Geremicca, “Venusti creato di Perino del Vaga”, 27. On the drawing, see Elena Parma, “Progetto per la decorazione di una cappella”, in Parma, *Perino del Vaga: tra Raffaello e Michelangelo*, n. 75, 186.

previous decorative phase and its contribution to the papal character that so distinctly shaped the renovation of the church.

4.2.2 The Phases of Guidiccioni's Intervention: the Ceilings, The Ciboria, The Organ

The decorative intervention promoted by Alessandro Guidiccioni was extensive: in comparison to the previous building phase, it seems to be a prosecution inspired by a clear competitive aim. Despite the fact that a lack of documentation makes it difficult to define De Landis's personal economic contribution to the projects executed during his Governorship, Alessandro Guidiccioni's expenses are well-documented and indicate a wasteful spending program, which was likely financed through the Order's funding. Indeed, accusations concerning Guidiccioni's excessive use of the hospital funds for decorative works in the church and the hospital led Pope Julius III to suppress the office of governor after the death of the Lucchese Commendator.⁶³⁷

One of the first commissions of Alessandro Guidiccioni, on 8 February 1547, was a new carved and painted ceiling for the great hospital ward,

⁶³⁷ Smith Bross, *The Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia*, 127. The office was substituted by six deputies and a Governor elected on a biannual basis. Eunice D. Howe, "The Authority of Tradition. Palladio and the Altar of the Hospital of Santo Spirito", *Storia dell'Arte*, n. 111 (giugno-settembre 2005), 99. Gasparo Alveri suggested that Guidiccioni was accused by envying rivals after the death of Paul III: «Alessandro Guidiccione Lucchese l'anno 1546 fu eletto Commendatore, il quale notabilmente adornò la Chiesa, e l'Ospedale di S. Spirito, perché in quella fra gli altri ornamenti fabricò l'Altare del Santissimo Crocifisso, & in questo il grandissimo soffitto vagamente spartito, e dipinto, la cui splendidezza essendo stata rappresentata al Pontefice Giulio III da alcuni invidiosi per un eccesso inconsiderato di spesa, che si faceva in gran danno del luogo, la detta dignità ne venne ad essere suppressa, commettendo l'amministrazione di esso Ospedale alla Confraternita del medesimo Ospedale, come si dice nel capitolo di essa, se bene non passò molto tempo, che la medesima dignità fu restituita.» Gasparo Alveri, *Roma in ogni Stato* (Roma: V. Mascardi, 1664), vol. 2, 263.

the Corsia Sistina.⁶³⁸ The contract was overseen by Jacopo Meleghino, the papal supervisor of buildings, who had also supervised the reconstruction of the church.⁶³⁹ The document indicates that the ceiling was to be realized by Francesco da Caravaggio and Giorgio da Crippa and that it was to be completed by June. Despite no evidence suggesting that the ceiling was completed by that time, an inscription in the ward recalls that it was installed during the pontificate of Paul III and was still in place in the 17th century.⁶⁴⁰ The contract is complemented by a color-wash and ink drawing, which represents an evidence of the original appearance of the ceiling. The design consists of rows of octagonal coffers alternating with rows of rectangles and hexagons, which create a complex geometric configuration.⁶⁴¹

The drawing of the ceiling of the hospital ward can be compared to the ceiling of the nave church (fig. 49), which was also completed, in all probability, during the pontificate of Paul III, whose arms are shown in a hexagon near the high altar.⁶⁴² The ceiling is composed of a series of geometric coffers, decorated by carved and gilded frames and connected in a rich arrangement. Hexagonal coffers in the center of the ceiling enclose either papal arms or carved and gilded rosettes and alternate with rectangular coffers, which contain inscriptions commemorating the popes and governors who commissioned the restorations of the ceiling. On either side, rectangular and oval coffers frame heraldic insignias on a red background. Spaces between the geometric coffers are decorated by grotesques on a blue background. As has been observed, the ceiling

⁶³⁸ ASR, OSS, b. 227, ff. 20-22. See Howe, *The Hospital of Santo Spirito*, 124-125 and Smith Bross, *The Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia*, 127.

⁶³⁹ Howe, *The Hospital of Santo Spirito*, 125 and Smith Bross, *The Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia*, 127.

⁶⁴⁰ On the inscription, located at the mid-point of the northern wall, in the west wing, see Howe, *The Hospital of Santo Spirito*, 151, note 77. See also Alveri, *Roma in ogni Stato*, vol. 2, 271.

⁶⁴¹ Howe, *The Hospital of Santo Spirito*, 125. The original drawing was executed on a numbered folio accompanying the contract. Now, however, the drawing appears lost among the acts in the volume. *Ibid.*, 151, note 76.

⁶⁴² Smith Bross, *The Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia*, 128.

reflects Antonio da Sangallo's treatment of architectural surface, characterized by the use of geometric motifs that are arranged in patterns after ancient prototypes.⁶⁴³ This use of geometric decoration is exemplified, in the 1530s and 1540s, by the stuccoed vault of the Sala Regia and the wooden coffering of the Farnese Palace. However, as Louise Smith Bross has underlined, the clear geometric order of the nave ceiling of Santo Spirito in Sassia contrasts with Francesco da Caravaggio's and Giorgio Crippa's more complicated drawing for the ceiling of the Corsia Sistina and seems to be closer to Antonio's earlier ceiling designs.⁶⁴⁴ Eunice Howe has also noted that the nave ceiling of the Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia seems to use classical forms recommended by Sebastiano Serlio, both because the pattern resembles Serlio's coffered ceiling and because the decoration likely adheres to Serlio's instructions for setting gilded rosettes (or boss) in the center of the coffers.⁶⁴⁵ On the other hand, the correspondence of the project with Serlio's directives of avoiding many colors in ceiling decorations, which Howe also supposed,⁶⁴⁶ can hardly be assessed. Although the ceiling was probably decorated during the pontificate of Paul III, it was later largely restored, starting from the renovation that was promoted by Commendator Teseo Aldovrandi (1575-1582) in the 1580s.⁶⁴⁷ Since Antonio da Sangallo was so closely associated with the architectural project of the church, it is likely that he would have designed the nave ceiling before his death in October 1546. Therefore, the ceiling would have been commissioned during the reign of Francesco De Landis, even though it was likely carried out in the second stage of building under Alessandro Guidiccioni. This conclusion is mainly supported by the

⁶⁴³ Howe, "Architecture for 'Divine Hymns'", 64. On the attribution of the ceiling to Antonio da Sangallo, see also Emilio Lavagnino, 'Una novità palladiana', *Bollettino del Centro Internazionale di Studi di Architettura Andrea Palladio*, n. IV (1962), 55 and Smith Bross, *The Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia*, 127-133.

⁶⁴⁴ Smith Bross, *The Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia*, 128-129.

⁶⁴⁵ Howe, "Architecture for 'Divine Hymns'", 64.

⁶⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴⁷ On the renovations of the ceiling, see Smith Bross, *The Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia*, 129-133. See also Alloisi and Cardilli, *Santo Spirito in Saxia*, 67-69.

evidence that Guidiccioni's governorship was characterized by the installation of key projects in the church interior.⁶⁴⁸

The name of Alessandro Guidiccioni is traditionally associated with the commission of the marble ciborium in the area of the tribune.⁶⁴⁹ The wooden choir stalls were already in place when Guidiccioni took over and there may even have been an altar in the apse, as suggested by a detail in the Sangallo workshop drawing that seems to outline a pediment tabernacle (fig. 43).⁶⁵⁰ Even if a monumental altar might have been designed during the Landis's governorship, the ciborium was likely executed during Guidiccioni's tenure. As will be said,⁶⁵¹ this hypothesis is consistent with a possible change of the planimetry of the church, which determined the emphasis on the longitudinal apse. Destroyed toward the end of the 17th century, the ciborium is today attested by an engraving of Pietro Saulnier, dated 1649 (fig. 50).⁶⁵² In the engraving, it is represented as a kind of triumphal arch completed by a tympanum on the front. Semi-columns or pilasters on the edges are alongside the Corinthian columns at both sides of the arch structure, which recall the architectural motifs employed in the decoration of the interior and of the façade of the church. Angular pilasters indicate the presence of a tympanum on each side of the freestanding ciborium, which is covered by a cupola, raised over an octagonal drum with windows and completed by a lantern. Other than depicting the ciborium, Saulnier was also scrupulous in describing the work and emphasizing its outstanding architecture, as he affirmed that "those versed in architecture love to gaze upon the form and ingenuity of the

⁶⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 127-133. See also Howe, "Architecture for 'Divine Hymns'", 69.

⁶⁴⁹ The reference of the commission to Guidiccioni's Governorship, first made by Gasparo Alveri (see note 637 in this chapter), is accepted by all the most important studies on the Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia.

⁶⁵⁰ Howe, "Architecture for 'Divine Hymns'", 69.

⁶⁵¹ See later in this chapter.

⁶⁵² In 1649, Pietro Saulnier, a confraternity member, composed a scholarly treatise on the Order of Santo Spirito, including illustrations of the Church and of the Hospital of Santo Spirito in Sassia. Pietro Saulnier, *De Capite Sacri Ordinis S. Spiritus Dissertatio* (Lyon: 1649).

whole work.”⁶⁵³ At the same time, he depicted and described the ciborium in the main hospital ward (fig. 51), which, unlike the church ciborium, still survives in its original collocation, under the high lantern that separates the two main branches of the aisle (fig. 53).

The ciborium of the Corsia Sistina is a free-standing structure that is organized on three levels. The lower sector is marked by the presence of two Doric columns on the front and two tapered pilasters on the back. The intermediate level is characterized by a Doric trabeation, with metopes decorated by liturgical objects, symbolic images (torches and flaming vases), and objects referring to the pontifical status (papal tiara, crosier, etc.). The intermediate level also includes the octagonal drum, which supports the scale cupola corresponding to the upper section. Saulnier’s engraving (fig. 51) illustrates the presence of statues on the edges of the drum and of a balustrade that enclosed the ciborium on three sides. In the 1960s, a restoration campaign directed by Emilio Lavagnino revealed that alterations in the structure and decoration of the ciborium occurred during the pontificate of Clement VIII (1592-1605). Both the statues and the balustrade were consequently removed (fig. 53-54) and the painted decoration in the interior of the cupola (fig. 56) was eliminated, in order to uncover the original antique-style frescos (fig. 55).⁶⁵⁴ More recently, documentary discoveries have shown that, still

⁶⁵³ «Visenda est sane fastigiata testudo, quae principem aram circūtegit: nititur quator pilastelis, quibus singulis hinc inde geminae ex Africano marmore columnae adhaerent, e quibus quaternae sunt orbiculatim striatae: totius operis formam artemque suspicere amant scientes architecturae.» Saulnier, *De Capite Sacri Ordinis*, 124. For the English translation, see Howe, “The Authority of Tradition”, 98. For the fortune of the ciborium in the sixteenth century, see Maria Beltramini, “Giorgio Vasari e ‘l’ornamento dell’altare’. L’architettura negli oggetti per la decorazione e il culto: il caso di Arezzo”, *Horti Hesperidum*, vol. VI (2016), n. 1, 304-305.

⁶⁵⁴ Removing a painting that represented the *Descent of the Holy Spirit*, the restorers found the original frescos, which show ancient-style motifs, allegorical and biblical figures, including the *Dove of the Holy Spirit* within the lantern. Lavagnino assigned the decoration to the 1540s and to different hands. In his opinion, the cupola had been painted by an artist from Northern Italy of the circle of Giovanni da Udine or Perino del Vaga. The Fathers of the Church in the lunettes and figures in stucco were attributed to a provincial artist close to

during the pontificate of Clement VIII, the two columns on the front of the structure likely replaced a previous solution, which Eunice Howe has supposed to consist of four fluted columns.⁶⁵⁵ The alterations of the original architecture complicate the stylistic analysis of the ciborium, which several ancient sources attribute to Andrea Palladio.

Gaspare Celio, in 1638, was the first to describe the ciborium as a work of Palladio,⁶⁵⁶ followed by Gasparo Alveri, in his guide published in Rome in 1664.⁶⁵⁷ Ten years later, Filippo Titi extended Palladio's

Lorenzo Lotto, and the allegorical figures in the spandrels to the artists of the Guidiccioni Chapel. The restoration also revealed the decoration of the exterior of the dome, with gilt lilies, identified by Lavagnino as the emblems of Paul III. Eunice Howe noticed that these motifs must be rather identified with the emblems of the Order of Santo Spirito, which had long used red and blue with the gilt lily as a reference to their French origins. Howe, "The Authority of Tradition", 102. On the restoration of the ciborium, see Emilio Lavagnino, "Le opere di Andrea Palladio nella Chiesa e nell'Ospedale di Santo Spirito a Roma", *Bollettino del Centro Internazionale di Studi Andrea Palladio*, n. II (1960), 133; Lavagnino, "Una novità palladiana"; Lavagnino, *La Chiesa di Santo Spirito in Sassia*, 7-8, 22-42. The statues on the edges of the drum represented *putti* with the arms of Sixtus IV: this circumstance leads to the conclusion that they were re-use, probably from the original altar. Two of them are today in the Biblioteca Lancisiana. Colonna, "Il ciborio della corsia sistina", 84-85.

⁶⁵⁵ According to two documents discovered by Eunice Howe (ASR, OSS, b. 270, ff. 134v-135v and b. 7, f. 222r), on 31 October 1597, Marco Antonio Valenzano of Florence, a stonemason and resident of Rome, sold two columns of African marble to the hospital. Commendator Tarugi purchased them, and they were specified for the hospital chapel, which Howe identifies with the "sacred area under the drum". Howe, "The Authority of Tradition", 100-101 and 105-106.

⁶⁵⁶ Celio, *Memoria delli nomi dell'artefici*, 31 (93).

⁶⁵⁷ «Nel cui mezzo [dell'Ospedale] sotto una cupola tutta dipinta si vede un vago altare, dove ogni giorno si celebra messa, con la sua tribuna sostenuta da quattro colonne di marmo, e tabernacolo simile messo ad oro, dove si conserva il Santissimo Sacramento, & ogni mattina si celebra messa, il cui altare è opera di Andrea Palladio architetto, con sopra un grandissimo soffitto dipinto, e spartito con bellissimo intaglio, fatto fabbricare da Alessandro Guidicione Commendatore dell'anno 1546 con altri ornamenti, che si vedono in detto Ospedale fatti dal medesimo.» Alveri, *Roma in ogni Stato*, 255.

intervention to the ciborium of the Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia.⁶⁵⁸ The idea that Palladio had designed the ciborium of the hospital ward has been resurrected by modern studies, especially after the 1960s restoration.⁶⁵⁹ Arnaldo Bruschi has mainly remarked on the classical inspiration of the architecture, which, despite the transformations, seems to preserve the original project in its main features.,⁶⁶⁰ The use of the Doric order, which is certainly attested by the metopes of the trabeation, and the tripartite structure of the ciborium, with a “simplified” drum and a hemispheric cupola, show a clear inspiration by Bramante’s

⁶⁵⁸ «Ha questo Spedale un vago altare con la sua tribuna, sostenuta da quattro colonne, e tabernacolo simile, costruito con disegno da Andrea Palladio architetto...La chiesa è disegno d’Antonio da Sangallo...Il ciborio dell’altare maggiore fu architettato dal Palladio suddetto.» Filippo Titi, *Descrizione delle pitture, sculture e architetture*, 27. Titi’s version is recalled by Tommaso Temanza and Antonio Magrini. Tommaso Temanza, *Vita di Andrea Palladio Vicentino, Egregio Architetto* (Venezia: presso Giambattista Pasquali, 1762), VII; Antonio Magrini, *Memorie intorno alla vita e alle opere di Andrea Palladio* (Padova: Tipografia del Seminario, 1845), 24. Antonio Magrini asked Alessandro Lazzi to verify the existence of documents confirming the attribution in the archive of the hospital. Lazzi replied to have found some documents, which today seem to be lost. Arnaldo Bruschi, “Palladio architetto a Roma e la sua attività per l’ospedale di Santo Spirito”, in *Studi in onore di Renato Cevese*, 61.

⁶⁵⁹ The attribution has been especially sustained by Emilio Lavagnino, who considered Palladio as the originator of both the painted decoration and architecture of the ciborium, and assigned the project to the architect’s residence in Rome in 1546-1547. Lavagnino, “Le opere di Andrea Palladio”; id., “Una novità palladiana”; id., *La Chiesa di Santo Spirito in Sassia*, 7-8, 22-42. Roberto Pane and Lionello Puppi included the ciboria of the hospital and of the church in their monographs on Palladio, whereas Milton Joseph Lewine gave the hospital ciborium to Palladio, but not the ciborium of the church. Roberto Pane, *Andrea Palladio* (Torino: Giulio Einaudi Editore, 1961), 115; Lionello Puppi, *Andrea Palladio. Opera completa* (Milano: Electa, 1973), vol. 2, 265-266; Milton Joseph Lewine, *The Roman Church Interior, 1527-1580*, PhD Dissertation, Columbia University, 1960, 480. Anyway, Eunice Howe highlighted that several recent monographs on Palladio do not mention the Santo Spirito commissions. Howe, “The Authority of Tradition”, 97-98 and 107, note 7.

⁶⁶⁰ Bruschi, “Palladio architetto a Roma”.

Tempietto of San Pietro in Montorio.⁶⁶¹ This work had a normative role for Renaissance artists and was given particular attention during the pontificate of Paul III.⁶⁶² Bruschi has remarked that Palladio certainly designed the Tempietto before 1550 and, following Serlio, included it as the only modern building in his treatise.⁶⁶³

As can be deduced from the documents, the construction of the ciborium of the hospital ward of Santo Spirito in Sassia was begun in 1552, under Commendator Ludovico Simonetta (1552-1554).⁶⁶⁴ The work was likely completed under Commendator Bernardino Cirillo (1556-1575), whose arms are represented on the attic of the ciborium.⁶⁶⁵ The original altar of the hospital, probably that of the time of Sixtus IV, is mentioned in various inventories between 1536 and 1546. In an inventory of 29 December 1546, it is recalled as the “old” altar of the Corsia Sistina.⁶⁶⁶ This definition seems to suggest the opposition to a “new” altar, which had been presumably commissioned by Alessandro Guidiccioni.⁶⁶⁷ Hence, the project of the ciborium might have been defined in the context of the decorative works of the Guidiccioni Governorship, which also included the ceiling of the hospital ward, to be realized only after the death of the Lucchese Commendator. As Armando Bruschi has highlighted,⁶⁶⁸ the project displays well-defined architectural solutions, mainly based on the ancient models and on

⁶⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 67-70.

⁶⁶² On the success of Bramante’s Tempietto during the pontificate of Paul III, see Jack Freiberg, *Bramante’s Tempietto, the Roman Renaissance and the Spanish Crown* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

⁶⁶³ Bruschi, “Palladio architetto a Roma”, 68.

⁶⁶⁴ Flavia Colonna discovered some documents relating to the construction of the ciborium, dated 1553 and 1555 (ASR, OSS, b. 1892 and b. 1894). Colonna, “Il ciborio della corsia sistina”. See also Bruschi, “Palladio architetto a Roma”, 62-64 and Howe, “The Authority of Tradition”, 99-100.

⁶⁶⁵ Colonna, “Il ciborio della corsia sistina”, 84.

⁶⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 83. See also Bruschi, “Palladio architetto a Roma”, 61-62 and Howe, “The Authority of Tradition”, 99.

⁶⁶⁷ Colonna, “Il ciborio della corsia sistina”, 83; Bruschi, “Palladio architetto a Roma”, 61-62.

⁶⁶⁸ Bruschi, “Palladio architetto a Roma”.

Bramante's architectural style. These solutions recall Palladio's architectural language in the "firm, almost independent, emerging of the orders, the elementary clearness of structures, the bare and hard delineation of volumes, of surfaces and of their openings."⁶⁶⁹ Palladio was in Rome, together with Gian Giorgio Trissino, in 1541 and in autumn 1545, and again between March 1546 and July 1547. He would probably have returned after the death of Paul III, at the end of 1549, and certainly in 1554, together with Daniele Barbaro. The hypothesis of his intervention in the complex of Santo Spirito in Sassia is consistent with the dating of the commission to the governorship of Alessandro Guidiccioni, who might also have known Palladio in Vicenza, where Guidiccioni accompanied Paul III in September 1537, in order to prepare the Council that was later moved to Trento.⁶⁷⁰ On the other hand, the ciborium shows many similarities to the architectural production of

⁶⁶⁹ «Il loro linguaggio [delle opere di Santo Spirito] manifesta la presenza di una personalità già decisamente orientata nelle sue convinzioni, nei suoi gusti e nelle sue scelte espressive: la decisiva, quasi autonoma, rilevanza degli ordini, la chiarezza elementare degli impianti, la nuda e dura schiettezza dei volumi, delle superfici murarie e delle loro aperture.» *Ibid.*, 77-78.

⁶⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 62-63 and 76-77. Armando Bruschi has also supposed that Palladio might have designed the ciborium during his Roman sojourn of 1554. In this case, the documents on the construction of the ciborium dated 1552 should be referred to a previous project. *Ibid.*, 63-64. Louise Smith Bross has observed that in the *Descrizione delle chiese di Roma*, which was published in Rome in 1554 under Palladio's name, the author does not mention the ciborium, while describing in detail the Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia. This seems to contrast with Palladio's authorship of the ciborium. Smith Bross, *The Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia*, 147-148. On the other hand, Margaret Daly Davis has conclusively demonstrated that the *Chiese*, as well as the *Antichità di Roma*, were compiled by Giovanni Tarcagnola. Both works were published under Palladio's name to enhance the architect's growing reputation. Margaret Daly Davis, "Andrea Palladio's »L'Antichità di Roma« of 1554", *Pegasus*, n. 9 (2007), 151-192. Hence, the absence of any reference to the ciborium of the Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia in the *Chiese* does not involve Palladio's possible authorship of the ciborium itself.

Antonio da Sangallo.⁶⁷¹ Hence, the evaluation of the architectural features of the ciborium of the Sistine ward can be better defined in relation to the other architectural interventions that were realized in the Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia during the Governorship of Alessandro Guidiccioni.

One of the most impressive and expensive commissions of the Guidiccioni Governorship was the great organ of the church (fig. 52, 57, 58), which corresponds with the third chapel on the right. The circumstance that the organ was the first commission of the Lucchese Commendator, on 18 January 1547⁶⁷² only eleven days after his investiture, confirms the importance of the work in Guidiccioni's decorative program. The contract indicates that the organ was to be constructed by Niccolò de Tezani, an organ maker from Cremona,⁶⁷³ for the enormous price of 700 *scudi*. Furthermore, it was to be completed within six months.⁶⁷⁴ A second contract, negotiated on 30 July 1547,

⁶⁷¹ Louise Smith Bross observed that Antonio da Sangallo had planned free-standing tabernacle ciboria for the Church of St. Marcello and the Pauline Chapel. Two other monumental tabernacles, the shrine of Veronica's Veil in old St. Peter's and an outdoor tabernacle dedicated to St. Andrew on the Via Flaminia have also been attributed to him. Further, the dome of the ciborium is similar to the domes that he designed for the Roman Churches of Santa Maria della Pace and Santa Maria di Loreto. Still a drawing by Antonio da Sangallo (U.A. 1905v) contains a sketch of an aedicular structure topped with an octagonal drum, cupola and lantern which are similar to the Santo Spirito ciborium. Smith Bross, *The Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia*, 149-150.

⁶⁷² ASR, OSS, b. 237, ff. 5r-6r. See Smith Bross, *The Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia*, 126 and 506-509 and Howe, "Architecture for 'Divine Hymns'", 82-83.

⁶⁷³ On Niccolò de Tezani, see Furio Luccichenti, "Un organaro cremonese nella Roma del '500. Nicolò Tezano", *Amici dell'Organo*, serie II (1983), 22-24; Patrizia Melella, "Vita musicale e arte organaria a Santo Spirito in Sassia nel Cinquecento: note e documenti", in *La musica a Roma attraverso le fonti d'archivio. Atti del convegno internazionale (Roma, 4-7 giugno 1992)* (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana Editrice, 1994), 507-519.

⁶⁷⁴ The contract established that Niccolò de Tezani was to be paid 400 *scudi* for the organ of the church and another 300 *scudi* for ornamentation to share with Maestro Vico.

documents the assignment of the painted and gilded decoration of the wooden case to Francesco Credenza of Naples (doc. 3)⁶⁷⁵ - a Spanish artist who only a few months previously had been working on the gilding of the ceilings of various rooms in the Palace of the Conservatori.⁶⁷⁶ This last occurrence further confirms the continuity with the “papal” character of the artistic choices so strongly characterizing De Landis’ Governorship, as the decoration of the Palace of the Conservatori, even if commissioned by the Roman Senatus, was supervised by Pope Paul III.⁶⁷⁷ The organ must have been finished by the end of 1547, according to the date of an inscription at its base that is now worn beyond recognition. It once stated that Commendator Guidiccioni had instituted, during the pontificate of Paul III, organ music for divine hymns.⁶⁷⁸ The presence of the papal emblem of Paul III and of two smaller Farnese family crests, positioned at the front of the organ in addition to Alessandro Guidiccioni’s own crest, confirms the collaborative effort between pope and commendator that characterized the commission.⁶⁷⁹

⁶⁷⁵ ASR, OSS, b. 230, ff. 3v-4v. See Howe, “Architecture for ‘Divine Hymns’”, 84-85.

⁶⁷⁶ On Francesco da Credenza and his activity in the Palace of the Conservatori, see, in particular, Redín Michaus, *Pedro Rubiales, Gaspar Becerra y los pintores españoles*, 257-262 and Anna Bedon, *Il Campidoglio. Storia di un monumento civile nella Roma papale* (Milano: Mondadori Electa, 2008), 71.

⁶⁷⁷ Bedon, *Il Campidoglio*, 71.

⁶⁷⁸ «Pauli III Pont. Max. Principatu Alexander Guidiccionus Adiacens Praesul Xenodochii atque Orphanotrophii huius Commend. musicum organum divinis hymnis extruxit MDXLVII». Howe, “Architecture for ‘Divine Hymns’”, 73. The inscription is recalled by Vincenzo Forcella, who affirms to have taken it from *Cod. Chig.*, I, V, 167, f. 172v: hence, at Forcella’s time, the inscription was no longer visible. Vincenzo Forcella, *Iscrizioni delle chiese e d’altri edifici di Roma. Dal secolo XI fino ai giorni nostri* (Roma: Tipografia dei Fratelli Bencini, 1875), vol. VI, 393.

⁶⁷⁹ Howe, “Architecture for ‘Divine Hymns’”, 73.

The organ was altered and renewed in the 17th century, by the insertion of new decorations and gilding.⁶⁸⁰ Despite this, its fundamental structure is still visible. Furthermore, its original appearance can be partly reconstructed through a drawing in the Uffizi (4691A), attributed to Giorgio Vasari the Younger, that sketches an elevation of the organ case that is labeled “Questo è l’ornamento dell’Organo di Santo Spirito a Roma” (fig. 59).⁶⁸¹ The drawing shows some difference with the existing organ, so that it is not possible to determine whether it is the incorrect copy of a project or, more likely, the image of the organ approximately represented in its original appearance. The organ certainly displayed and still retains a “triumphal- arch” structure, with three *fornice*s framed by Corinthian columns and a “*serliana*” configuration. As has been noted, the interpretation of these classicizing motifs is very close to the architectural solutions of the Della Rovere monuments in the Church of Santa Maria del Popolo by Andrea Sansovino (fig. 33-34) and of the monument of Adrian VI in the Church of Santa Maria dell’Anima by Baldassare Peruzzi.⁶⁸² Highly original elements, such as the overturned shelves over the columns, also recall Michelangelo’s architectural language, with a particular reference to the funeral monument of Julius II in the Church of San Pietro in Vincoli.⁶⁸³ An even stronger classicizing inspiration characterized the lower part of the structure. The organ case is sustained by two pairs of Ionic columns, which lay directly on the ground, according to a version of the Ionic order that seems very similar to the one described by Sebastiano Serlio and displayed by Perino del Vaga in the frescos of the Sala Paolina in Castel Sant’Angelo.⁶⁸⁴ Other than supporting the organ, the columns also frame a lateral entrance of the church, which is located exactly under the case. The difference in

⁶⁸⁰ Bruschi, ‘Palladio architetto a Roma’, 74. The organ pipes and the instrumentation were replaced in 1959. Alloisi and Cardilli, *Santo Spirito in Saxia*, 75.

⁶⁸¹ Bruschi, “Palladio architetto a Roma”, 74-75. See also Howe, “Architecture for ‘Divine Hymns’”, 77-79.

⁶⁸² Bruschi, “Palladio architetto a Roma”, 75.

⁶⁸³ *Ibid.*, 75-76.

⁶⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 74.

height between the street and the ground plan of the church was at the origin of the marble staircase of concave and convex steps in reverse curvature, which descends to the outside from the vestibule under the organ. Its sculptural forms evoke Bramante's project for the staircase of the Vatican Belvedere, which had been published by Serlio in 1540.⁶⁸⁵ The analysis of these architectural elaborations shows that the Guidiccioni organ was conceived as an architectural work in its own right, which, being inspired by modern interpretations of ancient models, was designed to monumentalize the lateral entrance of the church as a kind of triumphal arch. The understanding of this architectural configuration can be clarified by comparison with the solutions that had been defined by Guidiccioni's predecessor Francesco De Landis.

Indeed, before his death in 1545, De Landis had commissioned a previous organ from the same artisans who later worked for Alessandro Guidiccioni. On 17 June 1546, in the brief period between the reigns of De Landis and Guidiccioni, the governing head of the hospital Pietro Santo sold the older organ to the Hospital of Santa Maria dell'Anima.⁶⁸⁶ According to Eunice Howe, the organ commissioned by De Landis in 1545 had to be installed on one wall of the tribune, an area on which the governor had focused his attention through the construction of two elevated lofts (fig. 61).⁶⁸⁷ The disposal of the new organ in the nave marked a shift away from a conventional organ in the tribune. As previously noted, this arrangement was intended to emphasize the lateral entrance of the church through the creation of a monumental structure including the organ case, the Ionic columns, and the staircase. This solution was organically planned in relation to the spatial assets of the church. Specifically, the new monumental entry would have been located in front of the chapel belonging to Alessandro Guidiccioni, which is faced by visitors ascending to the interior (fig. 60). The side entrance and the Guidiccioni chapel create a cross-axis, which is subordinate to the longitudinal direction (underlined by the ceiling and

⁶⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 73. See also Howe, "Architecture for 'Divine Hymns'", 72-73.

⁶⁸⁶ Howe, "Architecture for 'Divine Hymns'", 76.

⁶⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 76-77.

the ciborium) and yet highlights a spatial celebration of the Cross.⁶⁸⁸ It is interesting to note that the glorification of the Cross would also have been central to the decoration of the Guidiccioni Chapel.⁶⁸⁹

The Guidiccioni Governorship determined a change in the spatial asset of the church, which was intrinsic to the celebration of the Lucchese Commendator and to religious symbolic meanings. This initiative was the result of a collaboration between the patron, in his close dependence on the pope, and an architect, whose identity is still debated. Eunice Howe has observed that, in the aforementioned sheet in the Uffizi (4691A, fig. 59), the organ case of Santo Spirito in Sassia is represented above the drawing of three windows of Palazzo Farnese. Since Antonio da Sangallo the Younger is the acknowledged designer of the three windows, in Howe's opinion, the drawing secures the attribution of the organ to the Florentine architect.⁶⁹⁰ On the other hand, Armando Bruschi has highlighted that the original architectural solutions of the organ are also compatible with Palladio's architectural language, while Antonio da Sangallo was extremely preoccupied with the Farnese projects between 1545 and 1546.⁶⁹¹

The architectural solutions of the Guidiccioni Governorship certainly reveal the centrality of the reflection on ancient models, and on Vitruvius in particular, which would have found an important expression in Daniele Barbaro's illustrated edition of Vitruvius of 1556. Significantly, this Italian translation of *De architectura*, completed by Palladio's drawings,⁶⁹² focused, among other elements, on Vitruvius's specialized

⁶⁸⁸ On this renovation of the spatial asset of the church, see both Bruschi, "Palladio architetto a Roma" and Howe, "Architecture for 'Divine Hymns'".

⁶⁸⁹ On the decoration of the Guidiccioni Chapel, see later in this chapter.

⁶⁹⁰ Howe, "Architecture for 'Divine Hymns'", 77.

⁶⁹¹ Bruschi, "Palladio architetto a Roma", 73-77.

⁶⁹² Howe, "Architecture for 'Divine Hymns'". On Barbaro's edition of Vitruvius, see: Erik Forssman, "Palladio e Vitruvio", *Bollettino del Centro Internazionale di Studi di Architettura Andrea Palladio*, n. 4 (1962), 31-42; Vincenzo Fontana, "Il "Vitruvio" del 1556: Barbaro, Palladio, Marcolini", in *Trattati scientifici nel Veneto fra il XV e XVI secolo. Saggi e studi*, edited by Enzo Riondato (Venezia: Neri Pozza, 1985), 39-72; Manuela Morresi, "Le due edizioni dei Commentari di Daniele

terminology relating to the organ components and included detailed illustration of the hydraulic organ in operation.⁶⁹³ However, the relevance of Vitruvius's models to the architectural projects of Santo Spirito in Sassia can be more directly related to the debates on ancient architecture that were developed at the Farnese Court. In this regard, it is possible to recall that the Accademia della Virtù, which was patronized by Cardinal Alessandro Farnese in the 1540s,⁶⁹⁴ saw, other than the possible presence of Antonio da Sangallo, who was himself occupied in the translation of Vitruvius,⁶⁹⁵ the likely participation of

Barbaro, 1556-1567", in Vitruvio, *I dieci libri dell'architettura tradotti e commentati da Daniele Barbaro*, edited by Manfredo Tafuri and Manuela Morresi (Milano: Il Polifilo, 1987), XLI-LVIII; Luciana Miotto, "Le Vitruve traduit, commenté et illustré de Daniele Barbaro (1556)", in *Le livre illustré italien au XVIe siècle. Textel'image. Actes du colloque organisé par le "Centre de Recherche Culture et Société en Italie aux XVe, XVIe et XVIIe Siècles" de l'Université de la Sorbonne Nouvelle* (1994), sous la direction de Michel Plaisance (Paris: Klincksieck, 1999), 233-246; Louis Cellauro, "Palladio e le illustrazioni delle edizioni del 1556 e del 1567 di Vitruvio", *Saggi e memorie di storia dell'arte*, n. 22 (1998), 55-128; Louis Cellauro, "Daniele Barbaro and his venetian editions of Vitruvius of 1556 and 1567", *Studi veneziani*, n. 40 (2000), 87-134; Louis Cellauro, "Disegni di Palladio e di Daniele Barbaro nei manoscritti preparatori delle edizioni del 1556 e del 1567 di Vitruvio", *Arte veneta*, n. 56 (2000), 52-63; Vincenzo Fontana, "Daniele Barbaro e Vitruvio. Osservazioni sul commento a Vitruvio del 1556: Barbaro, Palladio, Giuseppe Porta, Marcolini", in *L'attenzione e la critica. Scritti di storia dell'arte in memoria di Terisio Pignatti*, edited by Maria Agnese Chiari Moretto Wiel and Augusto Gentili (Padova: Il Poligrafo, 2008), 159-180; Werner Oechslin, "Sottili ragioni». I disegni palladiani per le edizioni vitruviane di Daniele Barbaro", in *Vitruvio e il disegno di architettura*, edited by Paolo Clini (Venezia: Marsilio, 2012), 107-134

⁶⁹³ Howe, "Architecture for 'Divine Hymns'", 79.

⁶⁹⁴ On the Accademia della Virtù, see chapter 2.2.2.

⁶⁹⁵ On the relationships between Antonio da Sangallo and the Accademia della Virtù, see Nicola Pagliara, "Studi e pratica vitruviana di Antonio da Sangallo il Giovane e di suo fratello Giovanni Battista", in *Les Traités d'Architecture de la Renaissance* (Paris: Picard, 1988), 179-206.

Palladio during his Roman sojourns.⁶⁹⁶ The involvement of Alessandro Guidiccioni in this revival of ancient culture and humanist discourse cannot be certainly defined. However, his connection to the erudite classicizing culture of the Farnese court is evoked by the contract for the decoration of the organ of the Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia (doc. 3). The contract, made with the Spanish artist Francesco de Credenza on 30 July 1547, was drawn up in the palace of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese: the Palace of the Cancelleria Apostolica, at that time called “Palazzo di San Giorgio”. As attested by the document, Alessandro Guidiccioni lived in this palace at this time. Moreover, the contract was witnessed by such a humanist as Latino Giovenale Manetti, who had just been appointed counselor of the Roman Senatus.⁶⁹⁷ An expert of antiquities, in touch with some of the most important collectors of antiquities of his time, such as the Bishop of Paris Jean du Bellay, Latino Giovenale was

⁶⁹⁶ On the Roman sojourns of Palladio in the 1540s, see in particular: Christoph L. Frommel, “Roma e la formazione artistica di Palladio”, in *Andrea Palladio: nuovi contributi. Settimo Seminario Internazionale di Storia dell’Architettura* (Vicenza, 1-7 settembre 1988), edited by André Chastel and Renato Cevese (Vicenza: Centro Internazionale di Studi Andrea Palladio; Milano, Electa, 1990), 146-165; Howard Burns, ““Da naturale inclinatione guidato”: il primo decennio di attività di Palladio architetto”, in *Storia dell’architettura italiana. Il primo Cinquecento*, edited by Arnaldo Bruschi (Milano: Mondadori Electa, 2002), 372-413. On the possible participation of Palladio to the debates of the Accademia della Virtù, see Fulvio Lenzo, “Roma 1545-1547. Ligorio, Palladio e l’epigrafia”, in *Palladio 1508-2008. Il simposio del cinquecentenario*, edited by Franco Barbieri and others (Venezia: Marsilio Editori, 2008), 113-115.

⁶⁹⁷ «Actum Rome in palatio Reverendissimi domini Cardinalis farnesio vulgariter dicto il palazzo de Santo Georgio in camera inferiori ubi ad presens inhabitat prefatus Commandatarius. Presentibus ibidem Nobili viro domino Latino Iuvenali cive Romano et domino Iacobo.» ASR, OSS, b. 230, f. 4v. On Latino Giovenale Manetti, see in particular Angela Quattrocchi, “Latino Giovenale de’ Manetti. Un diplomatico «umanista» nella Curia Pontificia”, in *Offices et Papauté (XIVe-XVIIe siècle). Charges, hommes, destins, sous la direction d’Armand Jamme and Olivier Poncet* (Rome: École française de Rome, 2005), 829-840; Simona Feci, *ad vocem* “MANETTI, Latino Giovenale”, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Roma, Istituto dell’Enciclopedia italiana, 2007), vol. 68, 617-620 and Rebecchini, “After the Medici”.

an enthusiast collector of ancient marbles, who had been nominated by Paolo III *commissario alle antichità*. A literate, estimated by Pietro Bembo and Francesco Berni, he was a key figure of that “culture of transition”, which developed at the Farnese court after the Sack of Rome.⁶⁹⁸ The decorative intervention of Alessandro Guidiccioni in Santo Spirito in Sassia can be projected onto the background of that antiquarian and literary culture, which had also seen the active participation of Giovanni Guidiccioni. In this context, it was characterized by the certain involvement of Antonio da Sangallo and his circle in the project of the Church of Santo Spirito. This circumstance, as well as the existence of the Uffizi drawings showing the church interior and the organ (1118 v. and 4691A), support the attribution to Sangallo’s circle of the church ciborium and the organ. The original solutions of the ciborium of the hospital ward look quite different from the architectural language of the church ciborium, despite the common inspiration to Vitruvius’s architecture. These differences, as well as stylistic and circumstantial evidence, sustain the attribution to Palladio of the ciborium of the Hospital of Santo Spirito in Sassia.

4.2.3 The Guidiccioni Chapel

The new spatial configuration of the Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia had its focal point in the chapel-mausoleum of Alessandro Guidiccioni (fig. 62 a, b and c). The original connection between the chapel and the arrangement of the right wall of the church – including the side entrance and the organ – determines the project of the chapel to be essentially contemporary to the first architectural works of the Guidiccioni Governorship. However, Alessandro Guidiccioni bought the chapel (the third one on the left wall) in 1548, some months after the likely conclusion of the organ. Documents dated between 15 and 23 November 1548 prove that the Lucchese Commendator acquired the chapel, which was dedicated to the Crucifixion, for the sum of 200 *scudi* and that he

⁶⁹⁸ Quattrocchi, “Latino Giovenale de’ Manetti”.

agreed to decorate it at his own expense.⁶⁹⁹ Documents also reveal that Alessandro Guidiccioni arranged some funds for the celebration of masses, which after his death would have been said for his soul and for the souls of his family. If this failed to happen, the endowment would have been transferred to the Hospital of Santa Maria del Popolo.⁷⁰⁰

The chapel was conceived as a sepulcher for the patron, his brother Girolamo, and Antonio Foderato, who was a close friend of Alessandro Guidiccioni. Girolamo Guidiccioni, a Knight of St. James of the Sword, was buried beneath the altar. He had died on 4 October 1547, as is recalled in the funeral inscription in which Alessandro Guidiccioni is mentioned as “Bishop of Ajaccio”.⁷⁰¹ As Alessandro Guidiccioni resigned the position of Bishop of Ajaccio by April 1548,⁷⁰² the funeral inscription and the project of the tomb must have been defined some time before the purchase of the chapel,⁷⁰³ thus confirming the earliest conjunction between the sepulcher and the architectural arrangement of the church. The early definition of the project of the mausoleum also is indicated by the funeral inscription of Alessandro Guidiccioni, which was installed on the left wall of the chapel in 1551 (the year before his death). From the inscription, it is possible to know that the Lucchese Governor of the hospital, “mindful of the common lot and human inconstancy”, had

⁶⁹⁹ ASR, OSS, b. 237, ff. 51r and 53r-v. Smith Bross, *The Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia*, 133-134, documents n. 5 and 6, 511-513.

⁷⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 134, 511-512.

⁷⁰¹ «Hieronimo Guidicciono Lucens(is)/ S. Jacobi de Spatha militi qui/ singulari apud principes/ virtute et gratia pollens/ plurimis praefuit urbibus/ summa innocentiae ac/ probitatis fama/ Alexander Guidiccionus/ Ep(iscop)us Adiacen(sis) xenodochii/ huius preceptor fra(tr)i/ amantiss(imo) qui vix(it) ann(os)/ LXVIII m(enses) XI d(ies) III Octobr(i) MDXLVII». Forcella, *Iscrizioni delle chiese*, vol. VI, 393. See also Smith Bross, *The Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia*, 134.

⁷⁰² His successor, Giovanni Battista Bernardi, succeeded on 13 April 1548. Pius Bonifacius Gams, *Series Episcoporum Ecclesiae Catholicae* (Graz: Akademische Druck – U. Verlagsanstalt, 1957), 764.

⁷⁰³ On this chronological problems concerning the project of the chapel, see also Agosti, “Intorno alla cappella Guidiccioni”, 259-261.

decided while alive to place his own sepulture in the chapel.⁷⁰⁴ The configuration of the sepulcher is completed on the right wall by the memorial of Antonio Foderato from Savona, who died on 11 November 1548. The inscription recalls Foderato, also a Knight of St. James of the Sword, to be a relative of popes Sixtus IV and Julius II and an “incomparable friend” of Alessandro Guidiccioni, who is still referred to as “Bishop of Ajaccio.”⁷⁰⁵

As Louise Smith Bross has underlined, the general organization of the decoration resembles that of De Landis’ Chapel.⁷⁰⁶ The soffit of the arch, including the arms of Alessandro Guidiccioni in the center, is ornamented with a combination of panels filled with stuccos and frescos (fig. 62 b).⁷⁰⁷ Stucco reliefs, representing *grotesque* ornamentations and rosettes, divide the vault in horizontal and vertical ribs. Under a depiction of the *Dove of the Holy Spirit* at top of the vault, oval and octagonal stucco frameworks in the upper part and rectangular frameworks in the lower part of the semi-dome comprise frescos illustrating Christ’s Passion (fig. 63-68).⁷⁰⁸ Scenes of Passion alternate with angel’s heads in the upper frieze and prophets in the lower frieze, while four painted prophets adorn the chapel’s pilasters (fig. 69-71). A

⁷⁰⁴ «Alex(ander) Guidiccionus Adiacen(sis)/ Praesu(l) xenodochii huius/ Praef(ectus) vir in omni vita clarus/ legationib(us) ad reges ac curia/ munerib(us) aliquot honorific/e functus. Communis sortis/ et human(a)e inconstantiae me/mor sepulchrum in sacello/ hoc dote per ipsum aucto/ sibi vivens posuit MDLI. Vixit ann(os) LXIII obit die VII Octobr(i) MDLII». Forcella, *Iscrizioni delle chiese*, vol. VI, 395. See also Smith Bross, *The Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia*, 135-136.

⁷⁰⁵ «D.O.M. Antonio Foderato Savonen(sis)/ patritio militi S. Jacobi de Spatha/ viro a(f)feabili et mire omnibus g/rato Systi IIII Julii II Pont(ificibus) pro/pinquo laudemq(ue) omnem me/rito Alex(ander) Guidiccionus Ep(iscop)us/ Adiacen(sis) S(anc)ti Sp(irit)us in Saxia Com/end(atorus) amico incomparabili pos(uit)/ Vixi(t) an(nos) L obit/ die XI Novembr(i) MDXLVIII». Forcella, *Iscrizioni delle chiese*, vol. VI, 394. See also Smith Bross, *The Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia*, 135.

⁷⁰⁶ Smith Bross, *The Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia*, 136.

⁷⁰⁷ Frescos in the arch are extremely degrade and their depictions are no longer visible.

⁷⁰⁸ Measures of the frames are indicated by Smith Bross, *The Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia*, 138, notes 87 and 88.

band decorated by stuccoed *putti*, angels with musical instruments, garlands, and small painted allegorical figures, divides the two main levels of the vault (fig. 105 a and b).

The lower section of the chapel is decorated by frescoes imitating marble panels and cameos with allegorical figures (fig. 62 c, 72). The side walls are occupied by the memorials of Alessandro Guidiccioni, on the left, and Antonio Foderato, on the right (fig. 62 c, 72). They display analogous aedicular structures, which include the aforementioned inscriptions. The Foderato memorial, unlike the Guidiccioni aedicule, is completed by a stucco relief depicting the *Pietà* (fig. 72-73). The lower part of the chapel is dominated by the monumental altar, which has retained its original carved, painted and gilded framework (fig. 62 a and c).⁷⁰⁹ The tabernacle frame structure, with Corinthian columns and a tympanum, is comparable to the frameworks of Roviale's and Marco Pino's paintings on the counter-façade of the church, thus confirming a continuity with the artistic solutions of the previous decorative phase that characterizes the general plan of the chapel's decoration. The altar framework is today filled with a wooden Crucifix,⁷¹⁰ which substituted the original altarpiece. According to the contract for the ornamentation of the chapel, which Alessandro Guidiccioni concluded on 14 October 1550 (doc. 4),⁷¹¹ the Lucchese painter and engraver Michele Grechi,⁷¹² in charge of the decoration, committed himself to painting the altarpiece, with a Crucifixion and the portrait of Alessandro Guidiccioni.⁷¹³ The contract

⁷⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 137.

⁷¹⁰ Louise Smith Bross described the work as a modern Crucifixion. *Ibid.* In the monography on the Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia by Sivigliano Alloisi and Luisa Cardilli, the Crucifixion is defined as contemporary to the chapel. This interpretation cannot be accepted, according to the stylistic features of the work. Moreover, the original altarpiece was likely a painting (see later in this paragraph). Alloisi and Cardilli, *Santo Spirito in Saxia*, 140.

⁷¹¹ ASR, OSS, b. 208, f. 117. The contract was discovered and published by Gonzalo Redín Michaus. See Redín Michaus, *Pedro Rubiales, Gaspar Becerra y los pintores españoles*, 77 and 335, document II.

⁷¹² On Michele Grechi from Lucca, see later in this chapter.

⁷¹³ Louise Smith Bross described the original lost altarpiece as "a large stucco relief of the Crucifixion with a portrait of Alessandro Guidiccioni in a corner."

specifies that the decoration of the chapel, which had to include paintings and gilded stuccos, should have been “more beautiful and adorned” and with a “more outstanding appearance”, than the chapel of Francesco De Landis.⁷¹⁴ This declaration not only attests a precise

Smith Bross, *The Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia*, 137. Her hypothesis was based on the description of the chapel included in a Visitation of 1658 (Biblioteca Vaticana, Lat. 7941, ff. 237r-239r). The text of the Visitation, which Smith Bross transcribed (Smith Bross, *The Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia*, document n. 42, 566-569), exactly defines the altarpiece “a big Crucifixion in relief, with works in stuccos and figures, which was commissioned by Alessandro Guidiccioni from Lucca...his portrait is at the bottom of the Crucifixion”: «la terza [cappella] è sotto il titolo del crocifisso et ha per...un crocifisso grande di rilievo fu fatto fare con alcuni lavoretti di stucco et figurate dalla bona memoria di monsignore Alessandro Guidiccione Luchese nel tempo che fu precettore di questa santa casa fatto dalla santa memoria di papa Paolo 3. Vi è il suo ritratto a pie del crocifisso ne si sa che vi sia obligatione alcuna come anco è certo che non è dotata». The word “relief” very likely refers to a sculpted altarpiece, similar to the one today visible, rather than to a stucco relief, as Smith Bross hypothesized. Indeed, in 1595 a Crucifixion on the altar was gilded by Angelo Materi. See ASR, OSS, *Libri Mastri*, reg. 2792, 29 May 1595. It is not possible to certainly identify the altarpiece gilded in 1595 with the original altarpiece, which, according to the contract of 1550, should have been a painting. Possibly, the original painted altarpiece was replaced, before 1595, with a sculpted Crucifixion, which was accompanied by a painted portrait of Alessandro Guidiccioni. According to Antonella Pampalone, the original portrait was substituted by another portrait, in oil on copper, which is today preserved in the Accademia Lancisiana. Pampalone, “«Sedente Sisto V»”, 270, note 5. This painting, which Pampalone dated at the nineteenth century (*ibid.*), is dated at the sixteenth century in the modern inventory of the goods of the hospital. *Pio Istituto di S. Spirito ed Ospedali riuniti di Roma. Inventario dei dipinti e di altre opere d'arte* (Roma: 1973), 53, n. 349. Another portrait of Alessandro Guidiccioni, dated at the sixteenth century, is in the antechamber of the President's office of the palace. *Ibid.*, 20, n. 201. In the Palace of the Commendator of Santo Spirito is also preserved a third portrait of Alessandro Guidiccioni, dated at the nineteenth century. *Il palazzo del commendatore di Santo Spirito. Le collezioni storico-artistiche*, edited by Luisa Cardilli (Roma: Artemide Edizioni, 1998), 178.

⁷¹⁴ «Item [maestro Michele] promette fare dicta cappella de stucco bello et bono recipiente et bianco et farci varie figure de stucco, o vero de rilievo dove bisognerà, et quelle

consciousness of the artistic choices of Alessandro Guidiccioni, but also reveals the ambitious and celebrating intentions of the Lucchese Commendator. The evaluation of these purposes, as expressed in the commission, can be specified through an analysis of the characters – iconographic and stylistic – of the chapel's decoration.

4.2.3.1 The Cycle of the Passion of Christ

The architectural interventions commissioned by Alessandro Guidiccioni imposed a cruciform design on the Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia. The allusion to the Cross was emphasized by the decoration of the Guidiccioni chapel, which was dedicated to the Crucifixion and completed by a cycle of the Passion of Christ.

The narration develops by starting from the episode of the *Seizing of Christ* (fig. 63), including the incident of the wounding of Malchus, in the upper-left roundel of the vault. The octagon in the center of the vault shows *Christ in front Caiaphas* (fig. 64),⁷¹⁵ followed by the *Flagellation* in the right roundel (fig. 65). The cycle continues in the frieze below in three scenes depicting the *Crowing of Thorns* (fig. 66) to the left, *Christ before Pilate* (fig. 67) in the center, and the *Way to Calvary* (fig. 68) to the right. The sequence culminated in the episode of the *Crucifixion* on the altar, which is today recalled by the later wooden Crucifix. The stucco relief of the *Pietà*, in the Foderato memorial (fig. 72-73), likely had a

indorarle et pingere dicta cappella de varie figure et de colori perfetti et boni, et mettere l'oro bello et bono dove bisognerà, adeo che sia più bella et più ornata, et di più l'apparenza de quella del quondam Francesco de Landis commendatore de dicto ospedale». ASR, OSS, b. 208, f. 117r. See also Redín Michaus, Pedro Rubiales, Gaspar Becerra y los pintores españoles, 335.

⁷¹⁵ In the monography on the Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia by Sivigliano Alloisi and Luisa Cardilli, the episode is described as “*Christ in front of Erodes*”. Anyway, the identification of the episode as *Christ in front of Caiaphas*, sustained by Louise Smith Bross, seems unequivocal. In fact, the figure on the throne is represented as the High Priest, with a tiara and an ecclesiastical garment. See Alloisi and Cardilli, *Santo Spirito in Saxia*, 138; Smith Bross, *The Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia*, 138.

contemporary elaboration, with respect to the painted sequence.⁷¹⁶ The Pietà, which does not properly belong to the cycle of Passion, is enclosed in a marble tabernacle, which emphasizes the devotional character of the image and its separation from the narrative scenes. On the other hand, the subject is closely associated with the iconography of passion and represents a kind of completion of the narration with a contemplative reflection on the sacrifice of Christ.

The cycle of the Guidiccioni chapel focuses on the episodes that are most closely associated with the human suffering of Christ. This attention to Christ's human sacrifice is underlined by the selection of prophets who foretold the Passion, flanking the center fresco of the frieze and decorating the chapel's pilasters. The prophet in the upper part of the left pilaster is identified as Isaiah by an inscription. However, the plaque beneath the fresco, once containing a prophecy, is today illegible. The prophet beneath Isaiah cannot be surely recognized (fig. 69). On the right pilaster, David (fig. 70), in the upper part, is identified by an inscription and a quotation from the 22nd Psalm: "*Foderunt manus mea(s) et ped(es) meo(s)*" (they have hacked off my hands and my feet).⁷¹⁷ Micah (fig. 71), in the lower part of the pilaster, is labeled and associated with his prophecy: "*Percutient maxilia Judicis Israel*" (they will smite the cheek of the judge of Israel).⁷¹⁸ Louise Smith Bross has identified the prophet to the right of the altar as Daniel, interpreting the inscription as a quotation from Daniel's Book: "*Et post hebdomades sexaginta duas occidetur Christus*" (after sixty-two weeks the Christ will be killed).⁷¹⁹ Jeremiah to the left of the altar is associated with the inscription: "*Quasi agnus portatur*" (as a lamb is led to slaughter).⁷²⁰

⁷¹⁶ See the next paragraph, in this chapter.

⁷¹⁷ In the inscription the Psalm is identified as the 21st, but it is actually the 22nd. The Psalm is identified as the 21st in the Vulgate because Psalms 10th and 11th are combined. Smith Bross, *The Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia*, 138, note 89.

⁷¹⁸ Micah, 5:1. *Ibid.*

⁷¹⁹ Daniel, 9:26. The text of the inscription is: 'XIII/ E POST XVH/S DOMADAS OCCIDET.' *Ibid.*, 139.

⁷²⁰ Jeremiah, 11: 19. *Ibid.*

The studies of Barbara Wisch into the iconography of Passion have underlined the shift that apparently characterized the diffusion of the subject in the monumental decoration of central Italy during the 16th century.⁷²¹ The Passion of Christ was commonly represented in central Italy during the 16th century, as is especially shown by the enormous success of the plays of the Passion and Resurrection that were performed during Easter.⁷²² In Rome, the emotive participation of the spectators to these plays was so intense that Paul III, in 1539, prohibited their performance, in order to avoid violent attacks against the actors who portrayed the Jews and Pilate's soldiers.⁷²³ Independent Passion cycles, often with prophets and their prophecies, commonly appeared as part of the elaborate temporary decoration of the Easter sepulcher, where the pre-sanctified host was "buried" during the Good Friday liturgy of the *Depositio*.⁷²⁴ Cycles of the Passion of Christ were certainly diffused in the

⁷²¹ See Barbara Leslie Wollesen-Wisch, *The Archiconfraternita del Gonfalone and its Oratory in Rome: art and counter-reformation spiritual values*, PhD Thesis (Ann Arbor, Michigan: UMI, 1991); Barbara Wisch, "The Passion of Christ in the Art, Theater and Penitential Rituals of the Roman Confraternity of the Gonfalone", in *Crossing the Boundaries. Christian Piety and the Arts in Italian Mediaeval and Renaissance Confraternities*, edited by Konrad Eisenbichler (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University, 1991), 237-262; Barbara Wisch, "Memorie di teatro o rappresentazioni teatrali? Le rappresentazioni del Gonfalone nel Cinquecento e le scene "teatrali" del suo Oratorio", in *L'Oratorio del Gonfalone a Roma. Il ciclo cinquecentesco della Passione di Cristo*, edited by Maria Grazia Bernardini (Milano: Silvana Editoriale, 2002), 51-59; Barbara Wisch and Nerida Newbigin, *Acting on Faith. The Confraternity of the Gonfalone in Renaissance Rome* (Philadelphia: Saint Joseph's University Press, 2013).

⁷²² Wisch, "The Passion of Christ in the Art, Theater and Penitential Rituals", 239-240; ead., "Memorie di teatro o rappresentazioni teatrali?"; Wisch and Newbigin, *Acting on Faith*, in particular, 363-379;

⁷²³ Other than the bibliography cited at the previous note, see Barbara Wisch, "Violent passions: Plays, Pawnbrokers, and the Jews of Rome, 1539", in *Beholding Violence in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, edited by Allie Terry-Fritsch and Erin Felicia Labbie (Farnham and Burlington: Ashgate, 2012), 197-213.

⁷²⁴ Wisch, "The Passion of Christ in the Art, Theater and Penitential Rituals", 238.

artistic production as well, including monumental decorations, such as Pontormo's frescos at the Certosa del Galluzzo (1523-1525)⁷²⁵ and the frescos in the Chapel of the Swiss in the Church of Santa Maria in Camposanto Teutonico (1520 ca).⁷²⁶ On the other hand, in the 15th and in the first three quarters of the 16th century, fresco narration in central Italy seems to have favored the life of Mary or the Saints. Even in the 13th and 14th centuries, episodes of Passion were rarely depicted as an autonomous sequence and were more often included in cycles on the life of Christ. This situation contrasts with the large diffusion of Passion cycles in the monumental decoration of northern Italy, especially in Lombardia and Piemonte.⁷²⁷ Moreover, everywhere in Italy, the representations of Passion were often inspired by the Passion cycles of northern Europe, where the subject was extremely successful, as is exemplified by the various great multi-winged altars and the numerous series of prints.⁷²⁸ In central Italy, and in the Roman context, cycles of the

⁷²⁵ On the iconographic sources of this cycle, including *Dürer's engraving of the Small Passion*, see Ignacio L. Moreno, "Pontormo's Passion Cycle at the Certosa del Galluzzo", *The Art Bulletin*, vol. 63, n. 2 (June 1981), 308-312 and Allan Braham, "Pontormo and the Influence of Northern Art in Sixteenth-Century Italy", *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, vol. 130, n. 5314 (September 1982), 624-641.

⁷²⁶ The cycle was likely designed by Perino del Vaga and completed by Polidoro da Caravaggio and other artists. On Perino's project for this work, see Parma, *Perino del Vaga: tra Raffaello e Michelangelo*, 163-164, where the scholar discusses the inspiration of the decoration to *Dürer's Small Passion cycle*.

⁷²⁷ Wisch, *The Archiconfraternita del Gonfalone*; ead., "The Passion of Christ in the Art, Theater and Penitential Rituals"; ead., "Memorie di teatro o rappresentazioni teatrali?"

⁷²⁸ Studies have especially remarked the influence, on Italian art, of the *Large and Small Passion* by *Dürer*, the series of twelve engravings by Martin Schongauer, the fourteen woodcuts by Lucas Cranach the Elder, the series engraved by A. Wierix after Martin de Vos' drawing, the series engraved by Philippe Gaulle after Stradano's drawing, the series of thirty-five engravings by Hans Schäufelein that was published in Nuremberg in 1507, other than of numerous anonym series. Braham, "Pontormo and the Influence of Northern Art"; Maria Grazia Bernardini, "L'Oratorio del Gonfalone: storia, committenza e iconografia della decorazione", in *L'Oratorio del Gonfalone a Roma. Il ciclo cinquecentesco*, 38

Passion of Christ multiplied significantly in the last three decades of the 16th century: in Howe's interpretation,⁷²⁹ the renovated attention to the subject can be associated to the steadily increasing Eucharistic devotion that diffused after the Council of Trento. The success of the iconography of Passion in its relation to the Eucharistic devotion is certainly exemplified by the fresco cycle of the Oratorio del Gonfalone (1569-1576): a complete sequence that includes twelve episodes representing the Passion of Christ as a *Via Crucis*.⁷³⁰

The analysis of the Passion cycle of the Guidiccioni Chapel must consider this historical evolution of the iconography of Passion. Indeed, the limited diffusion that apparently characterized the subject in the monumental decoration of central Italy until the last decades of the sixteenth century makes the iconographic selection of the Guidiccioni Chapel an original choice. However, the interpretation of this iconographic solution must be based on the investigation of the way the subject was specifically represented. As previously noted, in the Guidiccioni Chapel a feature that clearly results from the selection of the episodes and from the prophetic inscriptions is the attention to the human sacrifice of Christ and even the emphasis on His physical suffering. The choice of events highlights another specific feature in the stress placed on the key moments of the trial of Christ, with the episode of *Christ in front of Caiaphas* that stands in correspondence with the scene of *Christ before Pilate*, directly above the *Crucifixion*. The episode of *Christ in front of Caiaphas* does not belong to the Italian cycles of Passion, which generally prefer the representation of *Christ before Pilate* as a

⁷²⁹ See the bibliography cited at the previous note.

⁷³⁰ On the importance of this cycle as the first complete monumental sequence of the Passion of Christ in sixteenth-century Rome, see in particular *L'Oratorio del Gonfalone a Roma. Il ciclo cinquecentesco della Passione di Cristo*, edited by Maria Grazia Bernardini (Milano: Silvana Editoriale, 2002). See also: Rita Randolfi and Giuliana Zandri, *Oratorio del Gonfalone. Le chiese di Roma illustrate*, n. 32 (Roma: Istituto Nazionale di Studi Romani, 1999); Stefania Macioce, "Considerazioni sull'Oratorio del Gonfalone", in *Le Confraternite Romane. Arte Storia Committenza*, edited by Claudio Crescentini and Antonio Martini (Roma: Edizioni dell'Associazione Culturale Shakespeare and Company 2, 2000), 172-195.

comprehensive illustration of the trial of Christ.⁷³¹ The association of the two episodes is in this regard an original solution - although supported in contemporary Roman decorations⁷³² - that clearly focuses on human blindness and responsibility, both redeemed by Christ's sacrifice, culminated in the Crucifixion. This association also draws attention to the possible iconographic models and sources of the decoration.

The presence of the scene of *Christ in front of Caiaphas* in the cycle of the Oratorio del Gonfalone - in this case in substitution of *Christ before Pilate* - has been in turn underlined as an unusual iconographic selection that confirms the inspiration of the painted decoration to printed cycles of Passion from northern Europe, where the episode is commonly represented.⁷³³ The inspiration by northern printed cycles, among other models, can be hypothesized in the case of the Guidiccioni Chapel as well. This assumption is supported by the circumstance that the artist in charge of the decoration, the Lucchese Michele Grechi,⁷³⁴ was an engraver, as well as a painter. Among his works, it is possible to recall a reproduction of Dürer's *Man of Sorrows* (fig. 89-90), which, in the accurate

⁷³¹ Bernardini, "L'Oratorio del Gonfalone", 38.

⁷³² A similar selection of episodes is in the Mattei Chapel by Taddeo Zuccari, in the Church of Santa Maria della Consolazione (1553-1556), where also the specular disposition of the scenes of *Christ before the High Priest* and *Christ before Pilate* (today destroyed), in the lunettes, recalled the correlation between the episodes of the Guidiccioni Chapel.

⁷³³ Bernardini, "L'Oratorio del Gonfalone", 38. Among the iconographic sources of the cycle, studies have remarked the importance of the series engraved by A. Wierix after Martin de Vos' drawings. Another important source is represented by the series of Passion engraved, at mid-sixteenth century, by Giulio Bonasone. *Ibid.* The episode of the Oratorio del Gonfalone is generally identified with *Christ in front of Caiaphas*. See, in this regard: Randolfi and Zandri, *Oratorio del Gonfalone*, 139-145; Macioce, "Considerazioni sull'Oratorio del Gonfalone", 182-183; *L'Oratorio del Gonfalone a Roma. Il ciclo cinquecentesco*. On the other hand, Rita Randolfi proposed to identify the episode with *Christ before Pilate*, according to a preparatory drawing by Raffaellino Motta, which shows the clear presence of Pilate. Rita Randolfi, "Raffaellino Motta all'Oratorio del Gonfalone: Cristo si trova davanti a Caifa o a Pilato?", *Lazio ieri e oggi*, n. 11 (Novembre 2010), 338-340.

⁷³⁴ On Michele Grechi, see the next paragraphs in this chapter.

copy of the main figures and in the transformation of the setting, originally re-elaborates the model.⁷³⁵ A similar use of northern prints, which was largely diffused in the Italian monumental decoration, might have been employed in the elaboration of the cycle of the Guidiccioni Chapel, whose iconographic complexity is not limited to the painted scenes of Passion. As previously stated, this cycle is closely related to the relief of the *Pietà* in the Foderato memorial, which, because of its iconography, has mainly attracted the attention of scholars among the various elements of the chapel's decoration.

4.2.3.2 The *Pietà* Foderato

The stucco *Pietà* that decorates the memorial of Antonio Foderato (fig. 73) is an example of the numerous reproductions of Michelangelo's composition for Vittoria Colonna on this subject, today attested to by the drawing in the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum in Boston (fig. 74).⁷³⁶

⁷³⁵ Alessia Alberti, "Contributi per Michele Grechi Lucchese incisore", *Rassegna di studi e di notizie*, vol. XXXVII, anno 41 (2014/2015), 46-48.

⁷³⁶ Boston, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, inv. 1.2.o.16. The bibliography on the drawing is extended. See: Charles de Tolnay, "Michelangelo's *Pietà* Composition for Vittoria Colonna", *Record of the Art Museum, Princeton University*, vol. 12, n. 2 (1953), 44-62; Charles de Tolnay, *Michelangelo. V. The Final Period* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1960), 60-64; Frederick Hartt, *The drawings of Michelangelo* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1971), 323, n. 455; Charles de Tolnay, *Corpus dei disegni di Michelangelo* (Novara: Istituto Geografico De Agostini, 1978), vol. III, 426r, 76-78; Michael Hirst, *Michelangelo and his Drawings* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), 117; Emidio Campi, *Michelangelo e Vittoria Colonna. Un dialogo artistico-teologico ispirato da Bernardino Ochino, e altri saggi di storia della riforma* (Torino: Claudiana, 1994), in particular 15-20 and 65-76; Emidio Campi, "«Non vi si pensa quanto sangue costa». Michelangelo, Vittoria Colonna e Bernardino Ochino", in *Dall'Accademia neoplatonica fiorentina alla Riforma. Convegno di studi (Firenze, Palazzo Strozzi, 30 ottobre 1992)* (Firenze: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1996), 67-135; Alexander Nagel, "Observations on Michelangelo's Late *Pietà* Drawings and Sculptures", *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 59. Bd., H. 4 (1996), 548-572; Ferino-Pagden, *Vittoria Colonna. Dichterin und Muse*, 426-427, n.

The history of the widespread circulation of copies of Michelangelo's artistic inventions for his friends and intimates, among the public of his time, is a significant part of the studies concerning Michelangelo's *presentation drawings*.⁷³⁷ The investigation of the circulation of Michelangelo's drawings for his closest familiars, made as finished works and offered as gifts, has highlighted the social and cultural background in which Michelangelo's creations firstly diffused.⁷³⁸ In this regard, the religious drawings have drawn particular attention, as they were conceived and initially diffused in the group of the "*spirituali*" gathering around Vittoria Colonna.

Vasari, in 1550, first recalls a drawing of the *Pietà* made by Michelangelo at the request of Vittoria Colonna.⁷³⁹ A short time later, Condivi gives a

IV.36; Alexander Nagel, "Gifts for Michelangelo and Vittoria Colonna", *The Art Bulletin*, vol. 79, n. 4 (December 1997), 647-668; Pina Ragionieri, ed., *Vittoria Colonna e Michelangelo* (Firenze, Casa Buonarroti, 24 maggio – 12 settembre 2005) (Firenze: Mandragora, 2005), 152-153; Maria Forcellino, *Michelangelo, Vittoria Colonna e gli spirituali. Religiosità e vita artistica a Roma negli anni Quaranta* (Roma: Viella, 2009), in particular 64-76; *D'Après Michelangelo*. Catalogo della mostra (Milano, Castello Sforzesco, Antico Ospedale Spagnolo, 30 settembre 2015 - 10 gennaio 2016), edited by Alessia Alberti and others (Venezia: Marsilio Editori, 2015), 279-284; Maria Forcellino, "Vittoria Colonna and Michelangelo: Drawings and Paintings", in *A Companion to Vittoria Colonna*, edited by Abigail Brundin and others (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 270-313.

⁷³⁷ On the question of the drawings made as finished works in their own right and given as a gift, see Wilde, *Michelangelo. Six Lectures*, 147-158 and Hirst, *Michelangelo and His Drawings*, chapter 10, "The Making of Presents", 105-118. On the fortune of these artistic compositions and on the diffusion of their copies, see in particular *D'Après Michelangelo*.

⁷³⁸ On the context that saw the first diffusion of Michelangelo's drawings for Tommaso de' Cavalieri, see in particular, Rebecchini, «*Un altro Lorenzo*», 235-239 and Marcella Marongiu, "Tommaso de' Cavalieri nella Roma di Clemente VII e Paolo III", *Horti Hesperidum*, 2013, fascicolo I, 257-319.

⁷³⁹ «*Ha meritato ancora Michele Agnolo che la divina marchesa di Pescara gli scriva et opere faccia di lui cantando; et egli a lei un bellissimo disegno d'una Pietà mandò, da lei chiestoli. Onde non si pensi mai penna, o per lettere scritte o per disegno, da altri meglio che da lui essere adoperata, et il simile qualsivoglia altro stile o disegnatoio.*» Vasari, *Le*

detailed description of the image, which corresponds in its main features to the drawing now in Boston: a dead Christ, whose naked released body is sustained by two angels and cradled between the knees of the grieving Virgin, who raises her arms to heaven.⁷⁴⁰ The drawing (fig. 74), cut at the top, partly preserves the quotation from Dante (*Paradiso*, XXIX), mentioned by Condivi: “Non vi si pensa quanto sangue costa” (There they don’t think of how much blood it costs), which is still visible together with the triangular shape of the Cross also described by Condivi in the print by Giulio Bonasone of 1546 (fig. 75).⁷⁴¹ The inscription highlights the Christological conception that was shared by Michelangelo, Vittoria Colonna, and the religious thinkers of her circle: the attempt to renovate and rediscover Christian Faith starting from “the direct and dependent relation that binds it to the promise of redemption embodied in the Passion of Christ.”⁷⁴² Vittoria Colonna especially

vite (1550), vol. II, 909. The commission is recalled in Vasari, *Le vite* (1568), vol. VI, 111-112.

⁷⁴⁰ «Fece a requisizione di questa signora un Cristo ignudo, quando è tolto di croce, il quale, come corpo morto abbandonato, cascherebbe à piedi della sua santissima Madre, se da due angioletti non fosse sostenuto a braccia. Ma ella, sotto la croce stando a sedere con volto lacrimoso e dolente, alza al cielo ambe le mani a braccia aperte, con cotal detto, che nel troncon della croce scritto si legge: «Non vi si pensa, quanto sangue costa!». La croce è simile a quella che dà Bianchi, nel tempo della moria del trecento quarantotto, era portata in processione, che fu poi posta nella chiesa di santa Croce di Firenze.» Condivi, *Vita di Michelangelo Buonarroti*, 61.

⁷⁴¹ London, The British Museum, Departement of Prints and Drawings, inv. H, 4.68. On this engraving, see *D’Après Michelangelo*, 294-297 and the bibliography there cited.

⁷⁴² Nagel, “Gifts for Michelangelo and Vittoria Colonna”, 661-662. On the relationship between Michelangelo and Vittoria Colonna, and on their religious thought, there is a wide bibliography. See in particular: Cali, *Da Michelangelo all’Escorial*, chapter 4, “Nel raggio del «cattolicesimo protestante» di Viterbo”, 116-154; Firpo, *Inquisizione romana e Controriforma*, chapter II, “Vittoria Colonna, Giovanni Morone e gli «spirituali»”, 119-175; Campi, *Michelangelo e Vittoria Colonna*; Campi, “«Non vi si pensa quanto sangue costa»”; Michael Hirst, “Michelangelo, Pontormo e Vittoria Colonna”, in *Tre saggi su Michelangelo* (Firenze: Mandragora, 2004), 4-29; Vittoria Romani, “Vittoria Colonna e Michelangelo”, in Ragionieri, ed., *Vittoria Colonna e Michelangelo*, 145-164;

expressed this idea in her *Spiritual Rhymes* and in her *Pianto sopra la Passione di Cristo*, which presents a description of the image of the dead Christ in the lap of the Virgin that is very similar to Michelangelo's visual representation.⁷⁴³ As Alexander Nagel has remarked, the concentration on the closeness of Christ and the Virgin that characterizes Vittoria Colonna's poetry underlines the theological point of Christ's death as a source of regeneration. This emphasis on the "life-giving, redemptive, "suprahistorical" qualities of the Dead Christ, rather than on the tragedy of his death",⁷⁴⁴ would find a correspondence in Michelangelo's drawing, which, with an original iconographic solution, combines the visual traditions of the Pietà and of the Man of Sorrows (or *imago pietatis*).⁷⁴⁵ As Emidio Campi has highlighted, these iconographic innovations must be conceived in the context of the reforming zeal that characterized the religious debate of the 1530s and that found expression, other than in Vittoria Colonna's poetry, in the Christology of Ochino's sermons between 1537 and 1542.⁷⁴⁶

The deep theological inspiration of Michelangelo's religious drawings, in their direct association with "spiritual" devotion, helps to explain the success of these inventions in the circle of the *spirituali*, where these images were regarded as both outstanding artistic creations and instruments for private worship.⁷⁴⁷ From a letter written by the Bishop

Forcellino, *Michelangelo, Vittoria Colonna e gli spirituali; A Companion to Vittoria Colonna*.

⁷⁴³ Campi, "«Non vi si pensa quanto sangue costa»"; Nagel, "Gifts for Michelangelo and Vittoria Colonna"; Forcellino, *Michelangelo, Vittoria Colonna e gli spirituali*, 64-75. See also Colonna, *Rime e lettere* and Vittoria Colonna, *Pianto della Marchesa di Pescara sopra la Passione di Christo* (Venezia: Giolito de' Ferrari, 1562). This latter work has also been published in Simoncelli, *Evangelismo italiano*, app., doc. 1, 423-428.

⁷⁴⁴ Nagel, "Gifts for Michelangelo and Vittoria Colonna", 661.

⁷⁴⁵ *Ibid.* See also Nagel, "Observations on Michelangelo's Late Pietà".

⁷⁴⁶ Campi, *Michelangelo e Vittoria Colonna*, 77. See also Forcellino, *Michelangelo, Vittoria Colonna e gli spirituali*, 68.

⁷⁴⁷ On the diffusion of Michelangelo's works among the *spirituali*, see in particular Romani, "Vittoria Colonna e Michelangelo"; Massimo Firpo, "Denis Calvaert e il "Cristo in croce" di Michelangelo per Vittoria Colonna",

of Fano to Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga on 12 May 1546, it is possible to deduce that Cardinal Pole was willing to give his “Pietà” of Michelangelo to Ercole Gonzaga, when he learned that this latter desired it. Cardinal Pole would not consider this gift as a loss, as he could procure another copy of the image from Vittoria Colonna.⁷⁴⁸ Ercole Gonzaga, who certainly owned copies of Michelangelo’s works,⁷⁴⁹ is still mentioned in a letter written by Vittoria Colonna to Michelangelo. In the letter, the Marchioness of Pescara asked the artist for the chance to show the Cardinal’s familiars a Crucifixion that Michelangelo was completing (identified with the drawing in the British Museum)⁷⁵⁰, even if the work had not been finished yet.⁷⁵¹ These letters attest to the success of Michelangelo’s religious drawings in the group of Vittoria Colonna’s

Iconographica, n. 6 (2007), 115-125; Forcellino, *Michelangelo, Vittoria Colonna e gli spirituali*.

⁷⁴⁸ «Monsignor Polo ha per notizia, ch’ ella desidera un Cristo di mane di Michelangelo, et amme imposto che io intenda secretamente la verità di cotal suo desiderio; perché, essendo in effetto, egli ne ha uno di mano propria del detto, che volentieri glielo manderebbe; ma è in forma di Pietà, pure se gli vede tutto il corpo. Dice che questo non sarebbe un privarsene, perciocchè dalla marchesa di Pescara ne può avere un altro.» Karl Frey, *Michelagnolo Buonarroti. Quellen und Forschungen zu seiner Geschichte und Kunst* (Berlin: Curtius, 1907), vol. I, 139.

⁷⁴⁹ See, in particular, Clifford M. Brown, “Paintings in the collection of Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga: after Michelangelo’s Vittoria Colonna drawings and by Bronzino, Giulio Romano, Fermo Ghisoni, Parmigianino, Sofonisba Anguissola, Titian and Tintoretto”, in *Giulio Romano. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi su “Giulio Romano e l’espansione europea del Rinascimento”* (Mantova, Palazzo Ducale, Teatro scientifico del Bibiena, 1-5 ottobre 1989), edited by Orianna Baracchi Giovanardi (Mantova: Accademia Nazionale Virgiliana, 1989), 205-226.

⁷⁵⁰ London, The British Museum, Departement of Prints and Drawings, inv. 1895-9-15-504. On this drawing see *D’Après Michelangelo*, 245-259 and the bibliography there cited.

⁷⁵¹ «Cordialissimo mio S. Michel Angelo. Ve prego me mandiate un poco el Crucifisso, se ben non è fornito, perché il vorria mostrare a gentilhuomini del R.mo Cardinal de Mantua: et se voi non sete oggi in lavoro, potressi venir a parlarmi con vostra comodità. Al comando vostro La Marchesa di Pescara.» The letter is not dated. Vittoria Colonna, *Carteggio*, edited by Ermanno Ferrero and Giuseppe Müller (Torino: Ermanno Loescher, 1892), n. CXII, 207.

intimates, and from these restricted circles, their diffusion among a larger public. Moreover, the letters highlight the existence of different versions of the same subject, which Michelangelo himself would have completed for his friends.

Charles de Tolnay first considered the letter of the Bishop of Fano to Cardinal Gonzaga as proof of the existence of two drawings of the Pietà composition for Vittoria Colonna, both by Michelangelo.⁷⁵² In his opinion, these two originals were not identical, as shown by the existing copies, which indeed form two distinct groups.⁷⁵³ The first group, including paintings and prints, seems to derive from the drawing in Boston, which Tolnay considered the original of the earlier version of the subject.⁷⁵⁴ The second prototype would be lost; it was the model of the reliefs and of the plaques that reproduce Michelangelo's invention, including the *Pietà* of the Guidiccioni Chapel.⁷⁵⁵ As Tolnay has also highlighted, these two versions show conspicuous and recurrent differences. In the plastic copies, the hands of Christ, which in the drawing are lifelessly portrayed, are outstretched, and the right hand makes the gesture of benediction. In the reliefs, the right foot of Christ is hidden, whereas it is clearly visible in the drawing. The Virgin's foot, which is covered in the drawing, is bare in the sculpted versions and her hands seem to express the gesture of an orant in the reliefs, and of despair in the drawing. Furthermore, the putto on the right is frontal in the plastic representations and seen in profile in the drawing, and the drapery of this putto is also different in the two versions.⁷⁵⁶ More generally, as Barbara Agosti has remarked, the figures display a more accentuated frontality in the plastic copies, which also simplify the

⁷⁵² Tolnay, "Michelangelo's Pietà Composition".

⁷⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁷⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 48. Tolnay's opinion has been confirmed, among the others, by Michael Hirst and Alexander Nagel. Hirst, *Michelangelo and His Drawings*, 117 and Nagel, "Gifts for Michelangelo and Vittoria Colonna", 647, note 3.

⁷⁵⁵ Tolnay, "Michelangelo's Pietà Composition". The most updated list of the various copies of Michelangelo's presentation drawings, with a detailed analysis of each reproduction, is in *D'Après Michelangelo*.

⁷⁵⁶ Tolnay, "Michelangelo's Pietà Composition", 58.

glimpse of the two angels and of the head of Christ, less deeply reclined.⁷⁵⁷ These differences are not neutral, but rather modify the character of the scene, which is conceived as a “symbolic event” in the drawing, and as a “cult image” in the reliefs, where the image is “more ostentatiously presented to the beholder”.⁷⁵⁸

Tolnay was also the first to identify the *Pietà* of the Guidiccioni Chapel,⁷⁵⁹ which in his interpretation would derive, as with all the other plastic copies of Michelangelo’s model, from the unfinished marble relief in Vatican (fig. 76).⁷⁶⁰ The scholar considered this latter a product of

⁷⁵⁷ Agosti, “Intorno alla cappella Guidiccioni”, note 261.

⁷⁵⁸ Tolnay, “Michelangelo’s *Pietà* Composition”, 58.

⁷⁵⁹ The first mention is in Charles de Tolnay, *ad vocem* “Michelangelo”, in *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*, edited by Ulrich Thieme and Felix Becker (Leipzig: Engelmann, 1930), 515-526, in particular 523. The work was reproduced for the first time in Tolnay, “Michelangelo’s *Pietà* Composition”, n. 22, 46-47 and 60. The scholar claimed that he had been the first one to mention the relief also in id., *Michelangelo. V. The Final Period*, 132. The relief is mentioned and reproduced also in Tolnay, *Corpus dei disegni di Michelangelo*, 76-77. On the relief, see also: Adolfo Venturi, *Storia dell’arte italiana. X. La scultura del Cinquecento. Parte II* (Milano: Ulrico Hoepli, 1936), 177; M. D’Orsi, “Gallerie di Roma”, *Bollettino d’Arte*, serie IV, anno 34 (1954), 365-366. Lavagnino, *La Chiesa di Santo Spirito in Sassia*, 19-21; Smith Bross, *The Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia*, 141-144; Ferino-Pagden, *Vittoria Colonna. Dichterin und Muse*, n. IV.41, 435; Paola Berardi, “La *Pietà* Dusmet”, in *Jacopo Del Duca «nell’hombra di Missere». La Croce di Vallecupola del Duomo di Rieti e la *Pietà* Dusmet della Galleria Nazionale d’Arte Antica di Palazzo Barberini*, edited by Claudio Strinati and others (Firenze: Mandragora, 2002), 17-19; Alloisi and Cardilli, *Santo Spirito in Saxia*, 141; Britta Kusch-Arnhold, *Pierino da Vinci* (Münster: Rhema, 2008), 275, note 814; Agosti, “Intorno alla cappella Guidiccioni”.

⁷⁶⁰ Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, inv. OA 34. Tolnay, “Michelangelo’s *Pietà* Composition”, 58. Tolnay’s hypothesis has been recently recalled. See Lorenzo Finocchi Ghersi, “*Pietà*”, in *L’uomo del Concilio. Il cardinale Giovanni Morone tra Roma e Trento nell’età di Michelangelo*. Catalogo della mostra (Trento, Museo Diocesano Tridentino-Palazzo Thun, Torre Miriana, 04 aprile – 26 luglio 2009), edited by Roberto Pancheri and Domenica Primerano (Trento: Tipografia Editrice Temi, 2009), n. 31, 218-219; Giovanni Morello, “Intorno al bassorilievo della “*Pietà*” della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana attribuito a

Michelangelo's workshop, as would be shown by its technique, with the cross-hatchings of the toothed chisel similar to those of Michelangelo. He concluded that Michelangelo would have started the relief, which would have been finished after a drawing by an assistant responsible for the weak modelling.⁷⁶¹ Tolnay refused to identify this assistant as Pierino da Vinci,⁷⁶² as proposed by Ulrich Middeldorf, who had assigned the relief in 1547-1548, when Pierino was in Rome to study Michelangelo's work.⁷⁶³ In addition, Tolnay denied the attribution of the Vatican relief to Jacopo del Duca,⁷⁶⁴ who is generally credited as the author of the Pietà Dusmet (fig. 77) - the terracotta relief in Palazzo Barberini that has been in turn suggested as the possible model of the Pietà Foderato.⁷⁶⁵ This latter hypothesis is contradicted by the clear iconographic differences between the Pietà of Palazzo Barberini and the other sculpted copies of Michelangelo's composition.⁷⁶⁶ On the other hand, the poor state of preservation of the Vatican relief, which looks cut in the upper part, behind the Virgin, where the relief of the Guidiccioni Chapel shows the presence of clouds, makes a complete iconographic comparison with the other works of the same group difficult. Barbara Agosti has remarked upon the affinity between the Pietà Foderato and the print by Giulio Bonasone (fig. 75), which introduced the clouds on both sides of the Virgin.⁷⁶⁷ The natural step of rocks, visible in Michelangelo's drawing and in Bonasone's print, seems to have been transformed, in the

Michelangelo", in *Studi in onore del Cardinale Raffaele Farina*, edited by Ambrogio M. Piazzoni (Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2013), 778, note 41, and Alessandro Rovetta in *D'Après Michelangelo*, 294.

⁷⁶¹ *Ibid.* Alessandro Rovetta in *D'Après Michelangelo*, 294 and

⁷⁶² *Ibid.* See also Tolnay, *Michelangelo. V. The Final Period*, 132.

⁷⁶³ Ulrich Middeldorf, "Additions to the Work of Pierino da Vinci", *The Burlington Magazine*, vol. 53, n. 28 (1928), 299- 306.

⁷⁶⁴ Tolnay, "Michelangelo's Pietà Composition", 58.

⁷⁶⁵ See D'Orsi, "Gallerie di Roma" and Berardi, "La Pietà Dusmet".

⁷⁶⁶ The relief in Palazzo Barberini is characterized by the presence of elements, as the complete Cross and angels' heads in the sky behind the Virgin, which distinguish it from the other works of the same group. See also Agosti, "Intorno alla cappella Guidiccioni", 264, note 9.

⁷⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

Guidiccioni as well as in the Vatican reliefs, in a grave, where the angels are lowering the dead body of Christ.⁷⁶⁸ Despite these similarities, and the possible inspiration by a printed prototype, the Guidiccioni relief belongs to an iconographic group different from that of Bonasone's copy, which was realized when Vittoria Colonna was still alive and looks very similar to Michelangelo's original drawing.

The attribution of the Foderato *Pietà* is another discussed problem. Tolnay has described the relief as being characterized by an "almost pictorial technique" and by "elegant and slender figure types", which, in his opinion, were reminiscent of Pierino da Vinci's style.⁷⁶⁹ Louise Smith Bross, recalling Tolnay's interpretation, has also highlighted the elegance of the composition, which, according to the scholar, clearly results from the "serpentine line" that "begins with Christ's foot, curves smoothly through his body and head and ends in the outstretched hand of the Madonna."⁷⁷⁰ As Ulrich Middeldorf had done in relation to the Vatican relief,⁷⁷¹ Smith Bross supported her attribution by considering that Pierino was in Rome in 1548 and remained in the city for a year, as a *protégé* of Francesco Bandini, who was Michelangelo's great friend. During that period, according to Vasari, the artist also copied a design of Michelangelo for a "Christ on a Cross" in low relief.⁷⁷² On the other hand, the attribution to Pierino has been refuted by recent studies of the artist, which have reasonably remarked upon the differences between the work

⁷⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 261.

⁷⁶⁹ Tolnay, "Michelangelo's *Pietà* Composition", 60. See also *id.*, *Michelangelo. V. The Final Period*, 132.

⁷⁷⁰ Smith Bross, *The Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia*, 143-144.

⁷⁷¹ Middeldorf, "Additions to the Work of Pierino da Vinci".

⁷⁷² Smith Bross, *The Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia*, 144. «E poco dopo, nel suo ritorno a Roma...il Bandino lo [Pierino da Vinci] menò seco, dove studiando tuttavia dimorò un anno, e fece alcune opere degne di memoria. La prima fu un Crocifisso di basso rilievo, che rende l'anima al Padre, ritratto da un disegno fatto da Michelagnolo.» Vasari, *Le vite* (1568), vol. V, 233. Louise Smith Bross supposed that relief recalled by Vasari could be identified with the altarpiece of the Guidiccioni Chapel, which the scholar, according to her interpretation of the text of the Visitation of 1658, considered to be a stucco relief. *Ibid.* Anyway, the original lost altarpiece of the Guidiccioni Chapel was likely a painting. See note 713 in this chapter.

of the Guidiccioni Chapel and the sculptor's formal language.⁷⁷³ Indeed, apart from the defined and soft modelling of the body of Christ, the composition is characterized, in comparison with Pierino's works, by a more elementary configuration, which clearly results from the "immobilized" positions of the angels, the "instable" representation of the Virgin (who seems to be detached from the ground), and the stereotyped expressions of the figures. The attributions of the *Pietà Foderato* to Jacopo del Duca have in turn remarked upon the acquaintance between Michelangelo and the artist, who had worked at the tomb of Julius II and would be employed in the execution of some of the most important architectural projects of the master, starting from Porta Pia.⁷⁷⁴ The coexistence of a soft modelling with an unbalanced spatial construction and a simplified and rigid conformation of details, such as the eyes and the hands of the figures, that characterizes the Guidiccioni relief, can be compared with the sculptural language of some works of Jacopo, such as the reliefs of the ciborium of the Certosa of Padula (1572-1574), although these are dated much later. In this work, the artist would have looked at Vittoria Colonna's *Pietà* composition for the figure of the Virgin in the analogous scene (fig. 78), which, despite some similarities with the formal solutions of the *Pietà Foderato*, is characterized by a much more dramatic and expressive interpretation of the sacred event.⁷⁷⁵

The similarities between the *Pietà Foderato* and the work of Jacopo del Duca do not allow the certain attribution of the relief to this artist, who is not attested in the Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia.⁷⁷⁶ Even if the

⁷⁷³ See in particular, Kusch-Arnhold, *Pierino da Vinci*, 275, note 814.

⁷⁷⁴ Venturi, *Storia dell'arte italiana*. X, 177; *Allgemeines Künstler-Lexikon*, XXX (München-Leipzig: K.G. Saur-Verlag, 2001), 143-146.

⁷⁷⁵ On the ciborium of the Certosa di Padula, see Armando Schiavo, "Il michelangiolesco tabernacolo di Jacopo del Duca", *Studi romani*, n. 21 (1973), 215-220; Sandro Benedetti, *Giacomo Del Duca e l'architettura del Cinquecento* (Roma: Officina Edizioni, 1973), 61; Sandro Benedetti, "Addizioni a Giacomo del Duca", *Quaderni dell'Istituto di Storia dell'Architettura*, (1987), 245-260.

⁷⁷⁶ Barbara Agosti has also remarked that the possible inspiration of the *Pietà Foderato* to a printed reproduction of Michelangelo's design, rather than to the

paternity of the *Pietà* Foderato remains an open problem, its elaboration can be further investigated by examining more closely the history of the chapel's decoration, as well as the personality of the artist that was in charge of the project. In fact, although it is not possible to exclude the possibility that the relief had an elaboration independent from that of the painted cycle, it was likely designed and executed in the context of the works of decorations that Alessandro Guidiccioni ordered to Michele

original model, might indicate that the relief was realized by an artist who was not directly related to Michelangelo, such as Jacopo del Duca. Agosti, "Intorno alla cappella Guidiccioni", 264, note 9.

Grechi.⁷⁷⁷ As will be said,⁷⁷⁸ Michele Grechi was the author of several engravings of Michelangelo's works, including the artist's *presentation*

⁷⁷⁷ Emilio Lavagnino dated the Pietà relief of the Guidiccioni Chapel at 1549, on the basis of a document partially transcribed by Gaye. Lavagnino, *La Chiesa di Santo Spirito in Sassia*, 87-89. The document is the account of an anonymous diarist, who recalled the unveiling of Baccio Bandinelli's *Adam and Eve* in the Cathedral of Santa Maria del Fiore in Florence, on 19 March 1549. The anonymous writer strongly criticized the work, which did not appear appropriate, in his eyes, to a sacred place. Right after, he recalled the unveiling of another work: a Pietà, which a Florentine sent to the Church of Santo Spirito and which was inspired to an invention by Michelangelo. He considered this work even worse than the previous one, as it would have expressed "Lutheran beliefs." Following Lavagnino, the document has been recently recalled and still attributed to the relief of Santo Spirito in Sassia. See, Alloisi and Cardilli, *Santo Spirito in Saxia*, 141. The derivation of the relief from a "spiritual" Michelangelo's composition seems to be consistent with the evaluation of the work as being 'Lutheran'. Moreover, in the account the work is described as having been sent to the Church of Santo Spirito from a Florentine: this information on the provenance of the artist seems to refer to a Church outside Florence, thus supporting the identification of the work with the relief of Santo Spirito in Sassia in Rome. On the other hand, as several studies have highlighted, the account concerns the unveiling of the copy of Michelangelo's Saint Peter's Pietà, which was commissioned for the Chapel of Luigi Del Riccio in the Church of Santo Spirito in Florence. The specification of the Florentine origin of the artist seems to be due to the fact that author was not a native of Florence, and indeed all dates in the manuscripts are *a nativitate*, not in modern style. Moreover, in the last part of the document, which Gaye did not transcribe, but which can be read in the original manuscript of the Biblioteca Nazionale in Florence, there is a reference to the Roman origin of Michelangelo's work used as a model: Pope Paul III did not want that a 'similar work' was 'taken away' from Rome. This information seems to confirm the reference to a copy of Saint Peter's Pietà and to invalidate the dating of the Guidiccioni relief at 1549. See *Diario del 1536 di...Marucelli*, BNCF, Magliab., II, IV, 19 (formerly XXV, 598 and 274): «Appresso addi 19 di marzo 1549 [si] scoperse le lorde et porche figure di marmo in Santa Maria del Fiore, di mano di Baccio Bandinello, che furono un Adamo et un'Eva, della qual cosa ne fu da tutta la città biasimato grandemente, et con seco il Duca comportassi una simil cosa in un Duomo dinanzi a l'altare e dove si posa il Santissimo Sacramento del corpo e sangue di Giesù Cristo Benedetto, tal che ne nacque gran disturbo nelle persone. Nientedimeno vi furono

drawings. This circumstance supports the attribution to Michele Grechi of the project of the *Pietà Foderato*.

It can also be observed that the Foderato Pietà is a quite early example not only of the large diffusion of copies of Michelangelo's *presentation drawings* through different means and materials, but also of their transferring in a monumental setting that radically changed the "intimate" nature of the original compositions. This adaption of Michelangelo's inventions to the monumental decoration is shown by other contemporary examples, such as the incorporation of the (lost) altarpiece of the Cesi Chapel in the Church of Santa Maria della Pace by Marcello Venusti, which reproduced Michelangelo's drawing of the *Annunciation*.⁷⁷⁹ Compared to this example, the Guidiccioni relief is more closely integrated in the wall decoration and connected to the iconographic theme displayed by the frescos. In the same years, an

portate, qual si deve pensare che tutto sia con volere di Dio. Nel medesimo mese si scoperse in Santo Spirito una Pietà, la quale la mandò un fiorentino a detta chiesa, et si diceva che l'origina veniva dallo inventor delle porcherie, salvandogli l'arte ma non devotione, Michelagnio Buonaroto. Che tutti i moderni pittori et scultori per imitare simili capricci luterani, altro oggi per sante le chiese non si dipigne o scarpella altro che figure da sotterrare la fede et la devotione; ma spero che un giorno Iddio manderà e sua santi a buttare per terra simile Idolatrie come queste. Era il padrone [de]lla cappella [blank], il quale di giorno in giorno s'aspettava che mandasse l'adornamento di tal figura, ma che ne haveva qualche difficoltà con Papa Paolo III, che molto hebbe a sdegno che di Roma cavata fusse una simil figura, talché per infino adesso si sta senza adornamento; venendo, ne darò avviso.» For the partial transcription of document, see Giovanni Gaye, *Carteggio inedito d'artisti. Pubblicato ed illustrato con documenti pure inediti* (Firenze: presso Giuseppe Molini, 1840), 500. For the identification of the work cited in text as the copy of Michelangelo's Saint Peter Pietà in the Chapel of Luigi Del Riccio and a list of the studies quoting the document, see Louis A. Waldman, *Baccio Bandinelli and Art at the Medici Court. A Corpus of Early Modern Sources* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 2004), 380, document n. 655.

⁷⁷⁸ See later in this chapter.

⁷⁷⁹ On this commission, see in particular Federica Kappler, "Una nota di cronologia sui disegni di Michelangelo per la pala Cesi in Santa Maria della Pace", *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, 56 Bd., H. 3 (2014), 355-360 and ead., "Novità su Venusti e la committenza Cesi", in *Intorno a Marcello Venusti*, 31-38.

analogous monumental adaption of Michelangelo's compositions from the *presentation drawings* was being displayed by the ornamentation of the rooms of Palazzo Spada (fig. 79), in turn characterized by the creation of a decorative – and iconographic- whole, based on the close integration of frescos and stuccos.

4.2.3.3 Michele Grechi da Lucca and the Decorative Project

Recalling a piece of information provided by Gaspare Celio,⁷⁸⁰ Ferdinando Bologna first ascribed the frescos of the Guidiccioni Chapel to the Spanish painter Pedro de Rubiales,⁷⁸¹ who shortly before had completed the *Conversion of Saul* (fig. 44) on the counter-façade of the Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia. In sustaining his attribution, Bologna underlined the affinities – formal and iconographic - between the decorative solutions of the Guidiccioni Chapel, which he dated at 1547, and the frescos of the Chapel of the Summaria in Naples, which Roviale

⁷⁸⁰ More precisely, Celio, after describing the Chapel of Francesco De Landis, which he attributed to Giovan Francesco Penni (see note 45 in this chapter), continues with the description of the interior of the church and ascribes to Penni also the frescos of the Chapel of the Crucifixion. Right after he attributes to Roviale the oil paintings of the chapel between the two just described, that is the fourth on the left wall from the entrance, which was actually decorated by Livio Agresti (see note 47 in this chapter): «...il resto è del fattor bono suo genero. Ancora il fresco della cappella del Crocifisso. Quelle pitture della cappella in mezzo delle dette sono ad olio di Ruviale Spagnolo.» Celio, *Memoria delli nomi dell'artefici*, 31 (93). Studies have mainly supposed that Celio confused the fourth chapel with the third chapel on the left wall, that is the Guidiccioni Chapel. Giulio Mancini attributed the decoration of the Guidiccioni Chapel to a certain "Maiolo", whom Emma Zocca identified with Andrea Maiolo, the author, in 1608, of some painted facades. See, Giulio Mancini, *Considerazioni sulla pittura*, edited by Adriana Marucchi (Roma: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 1956), vol. I, 80; Celio, *Memoria delli nomi dell'artefici*, note 274, 82.

⁷⁸¹ Ferdinando Bologna, *Roviale Spagnolo e la pittura napoletana del Cinquecento* (Napoli: Edizioni scientifiche italiane, 1959), 38-39.

would have executed immediately afterwards (1547-1548).⁷⁸² Successive studies have mainly confirmed Bologna's authoritative attribution, although they have often remarked on the problematic analysis of the paintings due to their poor conditions of preservation.⁷⁸³ The discovery of the contract for the decoration of the Guidiccioni Chapel (doc. 4) has shed light on its authorship, which must be ascribed to the Lucchese painter and engraver Michele Grechi.⁷⁸⁴

As mentioned above,⁷⁸⁵ the contract, dated 14 October 1550, firstly established that Michele Grechi had to paint the altarpiece, representing a Crucifixion with the portrait of Alessandro Guidiccioni. He was then required to work on the remaining ornamentation in stucco and painting, which had to be completed by eight months.⁷⁸⁶ The contract specified that the figures of the decoration should have been "*di fantasia*" ("of imagination") of the artist.⁷⁸⁷ Therefore, according to this document, Michele Grechi must be considered responsible for the entire decorative project of the Guidiccioni Chapel, including frescos and stuccos.

⁷⁸² *Ibid.*

⁷⁸³ Lavagnino, *La Chiesa di Santo Spirito in Sassia*, 19; Smith Bross, *The Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia*, 137-141; Pierluigi Leone de Castris, *Pittura del Cinquecento a Napoli, 1540-1573. Fasto e devozione* (Napoli: Electa, 1996), 145 and 180. Anna Bisceglia did not express a precise attribution, because of the bad state of preservation of the frescos. See Anna Bisceglia, *Relazioni artistiche tra Italia e Spagna 1540-1568: Pedro de Rubiales e Gaspar Becerra*. Tesi di Dottorato, Università degli Studi di Napoli Federico II, 2000, 52. Sivigliano Alloisi and Luisa Cardilli attributed to Roviale the frescos in the vault of the chapel, and to a collaborator of Perino del Vaga, possibly Luca Penni, the decoration of the walls of the lower part of the chapel, with allegorical figures inside cameos. Alloisi and Cardilli, *Santo Spirito in Saxia*, 135-140.

⁷⁸⁴ Redín Michaus, *Pedro Rubiales, Gaspar Becerra y los pintores españoles*, 76-83 and 335.

⁷⁸⁵ See previously in this chapter.

⁷⁸⁶ ASR, OSS, b. 208, f. 117. See also Redín Michaus, *Pedro Rubiales, Gaspar Becerra y los pintores españoles*, 335-336.

⁷⁸⁷ «*Et dicte figure siano di fantasia del dicto depintore*». ASR, OSS, b. 208, f. 117v.

Michele Grechi Painter and Engraver

The personality of Michele Grechi has been progressively outlined, starting from a preliminary 1964 study by Bernice Davidson⁷⁸⁸ that

⁷⁸⁸ Bernice F. Davidson, "Introducing Michaeli Grechi Lucchese", *The Art Bulletin*, vol. 46 (March 1964), 550-552. On the artist, see also: Licia Ragghianti Collobi, *Il Libro de' disegni del Vasari* (Firenze: Vallecchi Editore, 1974), vol. 1, 174; vol. 2, 534; Licia Ragghianti Collobi, "Michele da Lucca, Polidoro e Rubens", *Critica d'Arte*, n. 21 (1975), 11-20; Eraldo Gaudioso, "I lavori farnesiani a Castel Sant'Angelo. Precisazioni ed ipotesi", *Bollettino d'arte*, serie V, anno LXI, 1976, 21-42; Claudio Strinati, "La tavola Pellucchi di Livio Agresti", *Prospettiva*, n. 9, (Aprile 1977), 69-72; *Gli affreschi di Paolo III a Castel Sant'Angelo*, vol. 1, 57 and vol. 2, 78-80, 86, 114, 190; Roberto Guerrini, "Artisti senesi – ed alcuni altri del secolo XVI in Roma (dall'Archivio dell'Accademia Nazionale di San Luca)", *Bollettino Senese di Storia Patria*, vol. 90 (1983), 152-168; Borelli, *Nel segno di Fra Bartolomeo*, 40-41; *Raphael Invenit. Stampe di Raffaello nelle collezioni dell'Istituto Nazionale per la Grafica. Catalogo*, edited by Grazia Bernini Pezzini, Stefania Massari and Simonetta Prosperi Valenti Rodinò (Roma: Edizioni Quasar, 1985), 64; *La Sistina riprodotta. Gli affreschi di Michelangelo dalle stampe del Cinquecento alle campagne fotografiche Anderson*. Catalogo della mostra (Roma, Calcografia, 28 maggio – 14 luglio 1991), edited by Alida Molledo (Roma: Fratelli Palombi Editori, 1991), 37-39; Lucia Calzona, "La Gloria de' Prencipi". *Gli Sforza di Santafigora da Proceno a Segni* (Roma: Edizioni De Luca, 1996); Alessandro Angelini, "Pompeo Cesura tra Roma e L'Aquila", *Prospettiva*, n. 97 (Gennaio 2000), 104-144; Michael Bury, *The Print in Italy, 1550-1620* (London: The British Museum Press, 2001), 228; Paola Picardi, "Gli affreschi del Palazzo di Paolo III al Campidoglio: un salvataggio anomalo", *Paragone. Arte*, n. 54 (marzo 2004), 3-26; Christopher L. C. E. Witcombe, *Copyright in the Renaissance. Prints and the Privilegio in Sixteenth-Century Venice and Rome* (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2004), *ad ind.*; Redín Michaus, *Pedro Rubiales, Gaspar Becerra y los pintores españoles*, *ad. ind.*; Stephanie Buck, ed., *Michelangelo's Dream. Catalogue of the Exhibition* (Courtauld Gallery, Somerset House, London, 18 February – 16 May 2010) (London: Paul Holberton Publishing, 2010), 67; Michela Goi, "Le grottesche nelle stampe del Cinquecento tra Italia e Francia: il caso di Michele Greco", in *Dal testo alla rete. Atti e documenti del convegno internazionale per dottorandi* (Budapest, 22-24 aprile 2010), organizzato dall'Atelier ITADOKT, Università degli Studi Eötvös Loránd, Budapest, edited by Endre Szkárósi and József Nagy (Budapest: Itadokt, 2010), 260-270; Agosti, "Intorno alla cappella Guidiccioni"; Paola Picardi, *Perino del Vaga, Michele Lucchese e il Palazzo di Paolo*

contextualized the activity of the artist as an engraver and a painter in mid-sixteenth-century Rome. A series of documents first allowed for the recognition of the presence of Michele Grechi in some payments for decorative works related to papal commissions, in which the artist was cited as alternately Michele Crechi, Crecchi, Greco, Grechi, Lucchese, da Lucca, *Lucano* or *lucensis*. Between 1541 and 1547, he was paid, independently or coupled with Perino del Vaga, for painting some banners in Castel Sant'Angelo.⁷⁸⁹ In 1543, he worked on the ornamentation of stools, with grotesques, in the Palace of Paul III at the Aracoeli.⁷⁹⁰ In 1549, he received payments, together with Pellegrino Tibaldi, for the arms and other temporary furnishing for the funeral of Paul III,⁷⁹¹ and he was employed for an analogous work upon the death of Julius III.⁷⁹²

These decorative works have been lost, and until few years ago the only document of the artistic activity of Michele Grechi was represented by a series of engravings marked by the monograms M.L. and M.L.V. These had had been placed under the attribution to "Michele Lucchese" since

III al Campidoglio. Circolazione e uso dei modelli dell'antico nelle decorazioni farnesiane a Roma (Roma: De Luca Editori d'Arte, 2012); Isabella Salvagni, "da Universitas ad Academia." *La corporazione dei Pittori nella chiesa di san Luca a Roma. 1478-1588*. Vol. I (Roma: Campisano Editore, 2012), in particular 83-84 and note 177, 180-181; Alessia Alberti, "Contributi per Michele Grechi Lucchese incisore", *Rassegna di studi e di notizie*, vol. XXXVII, anno 41 (2014/2015), 35-77; D'Après Michelangelo.

⁷⁸⁹ ASR, *Camerali I, Mandati*, vol. 872, c. 117r; vol. 882, c. 18r, c. 110v, c. 103r, 112rv. Davidson, "Introducing Michaeli Grechi", 550. On these documents, see also Calzona, "La Gloria de' Prencipi", 72, note 55; Picardi, *Perino del Vaga, Michele Lucchese*, 26 and 170, n. 13; Alberti, "Contributi per Michele Grechi", 38.

⁷⁹⁰ ASR, *Camerali I, Tesoreria Segreta*, reg. 1291, libro II, c. 2, payment dated 16 November 1543. Davidson, "Introducing Michaeli Grechi", 550. On these documents, see also Picardi, *Perino del Vaga, Michele Lucchese*, 13 and 26; Alberti, "Contributi per Michele Grechi", 38.

⁷⁹¹ Davidson, "Introducing Michaeli Grechi", 550; Vittoria Romani, *Primiticcio, Tibaldi e la questione delle "cose del cielo"* (Padova: Bertinello, 1997), 19; Picardi, *Perino del Vaga, Michele Lucchese*, 26; Alberti, "Contributi per Michele Grechi", 38.

⁷⁹² Davidson, "Introducing Michaeli Grechi", 550; Calzona, "La Gloria de' Prencipi", 57; Picardi, *Perino del Vaga, Michele Lucchese*, 26.

the 18th century.⁷⁹³ The first known engravings were reproductions after Polidoro da Caravaggio (fig. 80-81), Raphael, Giulio Romano, and Michelangelo (fig. 83-86).⁷⁹⁴ A significant document of the printing activity of the artist was then constituted by a book of architectural representations, the *Prospettive et Antichità di Roma* (fig. 87), which included re-elaborations of the analogous French series entitled *Vue d'optique* (fig. 88), published in 1551 in Orléans.⁷⁹⁵ According to Bernice Davidson, these prints revealed “an eccentric personality, vigorous, expressive, and peculiarly ignorant of skills then considered fundamental.”⁷⁹⁶ The scholar especially highlighted Michele’s disregard for anatomy and perspective, as well as his tendency “to exaggerate in his struggle to communicate.”⁷⁹⁷ Consequently, in his works, “gestures, expressions, facial types, even lightening are empathic to the point that they become bizarre” and the “environment assumes oddly warped forms”, with “the perspective lines of his centralized architectural sets” that “shoot off widely in every direction.”⁷⁹⁸

This negative evaluation of the artist found a correspondence in sixteenth-century sources, which underlined the engraver’s stylistic and

⁷⁹³ Alberti, “Contributi per Michele Grechi”, 35-36. On the main works that in eighteenth and nineteenth century give information on Michele Grechi’s engravings, see *ibid.*, note 5, 52-53. It is interesting to observe the reference to Michele Grechi by Lucchese authors. In particular, Michele Grechi is recalled by Tommaso Trenta, who celebrates the engraver: «se le sue opere non possono andar del pari con quelle dei pochi più eccellenti maestri italiani dell’età sua, pur non ostante si tengono in pregio presso tutti gli amatori delle antiche incisioni». Tommaso Trenta, *Memorie e documenti per servire all’istoria del ducato di Lucca* (Lucca: presso Francesco Bertini, 1822), vol. VIII, 114-117. He is also recalled, together with Pietro Testa, as one of the best engraver of Lucca, in *Opere del marchese Antonio Mazzarosa* (Lucca: Tipografia di Giuseppe Giusti, 1831), vol. 1, 176. Several prints by the artist were also in the collection of Alessandro Ottolini in Lucca.

⁷⁹⁴ Davidson, “Introducing Michaeli Grechi”.

⁷⁹⁵ For the analysis of these works, see in particular, Picardi, *Perino del Vaga, Michele Lucchese*, 89-101.

⁷⁹⁶ Davidson, “Introducing Michaeli Grechi”, 551.

⁷⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

⁷⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

technical inadequacy. In a letter to Giorgio Vasari, written from Liège on 25 April 1565, the Flemish literate Dominique Lampson harshly criticized two prints by the Lucchese reproducing Michelangelo's *Crucifixion of St. Peter* and *Last Judgement* (fig. 85-86).⁷⁹⁹ Shortly after, in 1570, Lampson described to the miniaturist Giulio Clovio another rude copy of the *Last Judgement* that he ascribed to either Michele Lucchese or Giulio Bonasone.⁸⁰⁰

Based on the stylistic analysis of the engravings, Davidson proposed to attribute to Michele Grechi some paintings, which he would have executed after Perino del Vaga's models. Among the other works, the scholar identified the following: the *Madonna and Child between St. Catherine of Alexandria and St. Apollonia*, in the Church of Santa Caterina della Ruota; the frescos of the Marciac Chapel in the Church of the Santissima Trinità dei Monti; the scenes of the *Battle of Tolbiac* and the *Assault to Soissons* of the Dupré Chapel, in the Church of San Luigi dei Francesi; the *Dido and Aeneas* frieze in Palazzo Massimo; and the frieze of the Perseus room in Castel Sant' Angelo.⁸⁰¹

Moving from Davidson's analysis, studies have gradually defined the catalogue of the artist. In this regard, Licia Ragghianti Collobi, in 1975,

⁷⁹⁹ «come anco ultimamente ha fatto un certo Luchese della crocifissione di San Pietro et del Giudicio Universale. Dove non v'è nulla che pur accenni una minima particella della maestà et perfettione delle cose di Michelangelo; e credo che in fine mi faranno arrabbiar questi intagliatoruzzi di tre quattrini, ignoranti e nati per vituperio non solamente degli eccellenti artefici (l'opera delli quali guastano e storpiano sì fieramente,) ma eziandio di tutta l'Italia.» Picardi, *Perino del Vaga, Michele Lucchese*, 102; Alberti, "Contributi per Michele Grechi", 35. The letter is transcribed in Karl Frey, *Der literarische Nachlass Giorgio Vasaris* (München: Müller, 1930), vol. II, 159-160.

⁸⁰⁰ «chè del passato è stata dedicata a S.S. Ill.ma [Alessandro Farnese] una certa stampa del giudizio di Michelangelo di figure piccole dell'intaglio di qualche Michele di Lucca o d'un Giulio Bonasone, la quale opra arreca sì poco onore a S.S. Ill.ma et R.ma, a Michelangelo, et ad Intagliatore.» Because of the dedication to Alessandro Farnese, the work has been identified with the print by Giulio Bonasone. Alberti, "Contributi per Michele Grechi", 35 and 52, note 2. The letter is transcribed in *Da van Eyck a Brueghel. Scritti sulle arti di Domenico Lampsonio*, edited by Gianni Carlo Sciolla and Caterina Volpi (Torino: UTET, 2001), n. 1, 129.

⁸⁰¹ Davidson, "Introducing Michaeli Grechi", 551-552.

attributed to Michele Grechi a drawing with putti, labeled as “Michele da Lucca”, that was included in Vasari’s *Book of Drawings* (fig. 92).⁸⁰² On the other hand, Alessandro Angelini reconsidered Davidson’s attribution to Michele Lucchese of some paintings, which he recognized as a homogenous group and ascribed to the painter Pompeo Cesura: the altarpiece in Santa Caterina della Ruota, the scenes of the *Battle of Tolbiac* and the *Assault to Soissons* of the Dupré Chapel and the frescos of the Marciac Chapel.⁸⁰³ These latter have been recently attributed, on the basis of documents, to the French painter Guillaume Bonoyseau, thus confirming the non-involvement of Michele Lucchese in their execution.⁸⁰⁴ At the same time, the analysis of the printed production of the artist, expanding the number of known works, has confirmed the centrality of the reproductions after Polidoro da Caravaggio, Raphael, and Giulio Romano, as well as underlined the importance of the inspiration to Michelangelo. Works after Michelangelo not only include engravings of the *Battle of Cascina* (1540, fig. 83), the Sistine vault (fig. 84) and the *Last Judgement* (fig. 86), but also reproductions of Michelangelo’s *presentation drawings* (fig. 113-114).⁸⁰⁵ In addition, the catalogue of the artist has revealed the presence of personal compositions, such as the print of the *Asinara* (1553, fig. 91), and inventive re-elaborations of original models, such the previously mentioned copy of Dürer’s *Man of*

⁸⁰² Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts graphiques, inv. 1326. In a first moment, the scholar had attributed the drawing to a fifteenth-century “Michele Lucchese”. Raghianti Collobi, *Il Libro de’ disegni del* vol. 1, 174; vol. 2, 534. Later, she modified the attribution and assigned the drawing to Michele Grechi. Raghianti Collobi, “Michele da Lucca, Polidoro e Rubens”.

⁸⁰³ Angelini, “Pompeo Cesura tra Roma e L’Aquila”, 126-133.

⁸⁰⁴ For the attribution of the frescos of the Marciac Chapel to Guillaume Bonoyseau, see Patrizia Tosini, “Un mistero risolto: il “Maestro della Cappella Marciac” a Trinità dei Monti, alias Guillaume Bonoyseau “Gallico””, in *La chiesa e in convento della Trinità dei Monti. Ricerche, nuove letture, restauri*, edited by Colette di Matteo and Sebastiano Roberto (Roma: De Luca Editori d’Arte, 2016), 162-168.

⁸⁰⁵ The most updated catalogue of the artist is in Alberti, “Contributi per Michele Grechi”, 58-77. On the copies after Michelangelo’s presentation drawings, see *D’Après Michelangelo*, 169-172 and 347-349.

Sorrows (fig. 89).⁸⁰⁶ Furthermore, Michele Grechi has been found to have been active not only as a printer but also as a merchant of prints and a restorer of types by other engravers.⁸⁰⁷

An essential contribution to the study of Michele Grechi has come from the discovery of the name of the artist in the documents related to the execution of the frescos in the Palace of Paul III in Campidoglio, dated 1543, as well as by the re-discovery of the frescos themselves (fig. 93 a and b-94).⁸⁰⁸ As Paola Picardi has remarked, this important decoration was certainly assigned to Perino del Vaga, who was at that time the main artist working for the Farnese family. Perino's numerous commissions

⁸⁰⁶ On these prints, see Picardi, *Perino del Vaga, Michele Lucchese*, 104 and Alberti, "Contributi per Michele Grechi", 48-50.

⁸⁰⁷ Bury, *The Print in Italy*, 288 and id. in Buck, ed., *Michelangelo's Dream*, 67-68 and 167-170. See also Picardi, *Perino del Vaga, Michele Lucchese*, 101-105 and Alberti, "Contributi per Michele Grechi", 37.

⁸⁰⁸ The frescos were located in the "Tower" of Paul III on the Campidoglio. In 1585, Sixtus V transferred the ownership of the building to the Order of the Friars Minor Observants of the Convent of Santa Maria in Aracoeli. In 1873, after the suppression of the religious corporations, the delegates of the Italian government took possession of the properties of the Minor Observants, including the Palace of Paul III. In that occasion, they registered the presence of detached frescos in the building. In 1882, because of the construction of the Monument dedicated to Vittorio Emanuele II, the Palace of Paul III was demolished. The detached frescos were preserved thanks to the intervention of the director of the Istituto delle Belle Arti, and became a property of the Institute. At the end of twelfth century they were found in the storage of the Institute, and, since that moment, they have been analyzed and studied. The presence of the name of Michele Grechi in the documents related to the decoration of the Palace of Paul III was known since, at least, the 1960s. After the re-discovery of the frescos, the engraving production of the artist has been compared to the paintings, in order to identify his hand in their execution. A detailed description of the re-discovery of the frescos is in Picardi, "Gli affreschi del Palazzo di Paolo III" and ead., *Perino del Vaga, Michele Lucchese*. On the original location of the frescos, see also Marianna Brancia di Apricena, "La committenza edilizia di Paolo III Farnese sul Campidoglio", *Römisches Jahrbuch der Bibliotheca Hertziana*, n. 32 (1997-1998), 435 and ead., *Il complesso dell'Aracoeli sul Colle Capitolino (IX - XIX secolo)* (Roma: Edizioni Quasar, 2000), 174 and 188, n. 165.

seems to have determined the temporary association between the master and Michele Lucchese: a workshop, in which Michele had the role of direction of an équipe of collaborators, who worked following Perino's models.⁸⁰⁹ This system of organization finds a correspondence in the remaining frescos, which are characterized by a clear inspiration by Perino's prototypes and by stylistic differences showing the collaboration of different hands.⁸¹⁰ Paola Picardi has underlined the similarities between the figure-types of these paintings – especially of the group of putti dancing in circle (fig. 94) and of the women with unicorns - and some representations of the room of Perseus in Castel Sant' Angelo, which Davidson had attributed to Michele Grechi and successive studies had instead ascribed to Domenico Zaga (Perino's successor in the direction of the workshop of Castel Sant' Angelo).⁸¹¹

At the same time, the analysis of the documents of the Università dei Pittori, Miniatori and Ricamatori has highlighted the presence of Michele Lucchese in the institution since 1534, firstly as a simple "pictor" and then as a "magister".⁸¹² The increasing authority of the artist is confirmed by his rising in 1557 to the prestigious position of "Consul" of the Università,⁸¹³ which Michele attended until 1559.⁸¹⁴ The whole of this

⁸⁰⁹ Picardi, *Perino del Vaga, Michele Lucchese*, 25-31.

⁸¹⁰ *Ibid.*

⁸¹¹ *Ibid.* For the attribution of these figures of the room of Perseus to Domenico Zaga, see *Gli affreschi di Paolo III a Castel Sant'Angelo*, vol. II, 77-79.

⁸¹² In January 1534, he is recalled as "pictor" in the document of admission to the congregation. ASAL, vol. 42, c. 4v. In a document dated 25 July 1548, he is recalled as "magister." Guy-Michel Leproux, "La Corporation Romaine des Peintres 'et Autres' de 1548 à 1574", *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, vol. 149, n. 2 (1991), 303. On these documents see also Picardi, *Perino del Vaga, Michele Lucchese*, 83 and Salvagni, "da Universitas ad Academia." Anyway, in the documents for the decoration of the Palace of Paul III, in 1543, Michele had already been mentioned as "magister". See Picardi, *Perino del Vaga, Michele Lucchese*, doc. 11, 169.

⁸¹³ ASAL, vol. 41, c. 6r. Leproux, "La Corporation Romaine des Peintres", 321. See also Picardi, *Perino del Vaga, Michele Lucchese*, 84.

⁸¹⁴ The last presence of the artist in the congregation is dated 8 October 1559. Leproux, "La Corporation Romaine des Peintres", 325. See also Picardi, *Perino*

data allows for an understanding of the presence of Michele Grechi in mid-sixteenth-century Rome, as an artist acting as both a painter and an engraver, mainly active in Farnese commissions, and associated with Perino del Vaga.

The last documentation related to the artist is his testament, dated 24 May 1567 (doc. 6) and revised on 9 June 1570, with the modification of some instructions that he had previously defined.⁸¹⁵ The testament, other than offering some chronological orientation for the activity of Michele Grechi,⁸¹⁶ is the only known document to present the complete name of the artist, who is there recalled as “Michael Bartolomeo Grechi lucensis

del Vaga, Michele Lucchese, 85. Starting from June 1561, the documents of the institution mention a certain “magister Michele Grecchus Pictor” or “Grecus”. This artist must be identified with another unknown painter, who had still to pay, in 1561, the two *scudi* for the admission to the Università. In fact, Michele Lucchese has already paid the amount in 1534. *Ibid.* See also Guerrini, “Artisti senesi – ed alcuni altri del secolo XVI”, 164-165; Calzona, “La Gloria de’ Prencipi”, 57; Salvagni, “*da Universitas ad Academia*”, note 177, 180-181. On 27 May 1565, a “magister Michael Pictor” is cited in the documents, but it is not possible to ascertain his identity. Picardi, *Perino del Vaga, Michele Lucchese*, 85.

⁸¹⁵ ASR, *Notai AC*, vol. 6470, 24 May 1567, f. 497 and vol. 6251, 9 June 1570, f. 467r. The document is unpublished. It is cited in Redín Michaus, *Pedro Rubiales, Gaspar Becerra y los pintores españoles*, 79, note 282 and Alberti, “Contributi per Michele Grechi”, 40 and 54-55, notes 26 and 27. Alessia Alberti makes reference to some contents of the testament: she hypothesizes that the Church of St. Biagio mentioned in the document might be identified with the Church of St. Biagio degli Orefici, where the musician Giulio Signo from Modena, a familiar of Cardinal Guido Ascanio Sforza, the artist’s main protector, had been buried. Alberti, “Contributi per Michele Grechi”, note 26, 54-55. The scholar also recalls, that in the *codicillo* of 1570 the artist revokes the instructions concerning the heirs of the Lucchese Nicola Lancillotti and of the painter Reinerio from Pisa. *Ibid.*, note 27, 55.

⁸¹⁶ Michael Bury had already noted that the year 1604 was often erroneously indicated as the last term for the engraving activity of the artist, on the basis of the date on a late state of the engraving of Giulio Romano’s altarpiece in Santa Maria dell’Anima. See Bury in *Michelangelo’s Dream*, 73.

Pictor".⁸¹⁷ This information, never noted, provides the opportunity to deeper analyze an often made but unconfirmed attribution to Michele Grechi of a particular work.

The oldest document that has been referred to Michele Lucchese is a notary deed of 1533 (doc. 5), which mentions a certain "Magister Michael Barth. de Lucca" together with Matteo Crassetti da Terranova for a "pictura palcorum et frisorum duorum cubiculorum sive camerarum pontificis...in dicto S.ti Angeli".⁸¹⁸ The work has been recognized as the frieze with acanthus leaves and putti in the first room of Clemens VII in Castel Sant'Angelo (fig. 95 a and b). Studies have mainly identified the "Michele" mentioned in the document as Michele Lucchese, while also remarking upon the strange circumstance that in the deed the artist is recalled as "Bartholomeus", as he was never mentioned in any other document.⁸¹⁹ The discovery of the testament in which Michele is named as "Bartholomei Grechi" allows for a more certain identification of the artist as the painter recalled in the document for the fresco of Castel Sant'Angelo. Stylistic analysis of the frieze can help to determine this attribution.

Paola Picardi has noted the inspiration by Michelangelo's plastic construction that characterizes the putti of the painting, according to an interpretation of Michelangelo's style that recalls the young Daniele da Volterra.⁸²⁰ It can rather be observed that the painting seems to be

⁸¹⁷ ASR, *Notai AC*, vol. 6470, 24 May 1567, f. 497. See also Alberti, "Contributi per Michele Grechi", 40. Alberti mentions the name of the artist but does not discusses the following implications.

⁸¹⁸ ASC, *Diversorum antiquorum I*, 894. See *Gli affreschi di Paolo III a Castel Sant'Angelo*, vol. I, 57 and Picardi, *Perino del Vaga, Michele Lucchese*, 82 and 172, doc. 15.

⁸¹⁹ Gaudioso, "I lavori farnesiani a Castel Sant'Angelo", 26 and 39, note 39; *Gli affreschi di Paolo III a Castel Sant'Angelo*, vol. I, 57 and vol. II, 79; Picardi, *Perino del Vaga, Michele Lucchese*, 82 and 172, doc. 15. Alessia Alberti and Isabella Salvagni also recall the attribution of the work to Michele Grechi, without discussing the problem of the name, which both the scholar report in its complete form. Alberti, "Contributi per Michele Grechi", 38 and Salvagni, "da Universitas ad Academia", 83-84 and 180-181.

⁸²⁰ Picardi, *Perino del Vaga, Michele Lucchese*, 82-83.

characterized by a re-elaboration of the language of Michelangelo through the main model of Perino del Vaga. The configuration of the figures appears to be similar to Perino's compositions, such as the putti on the arch of the Pucci Chapel in the Church of Santissima Trinità dei Monti (fig. 96).⁸²¹ Another example is the drawing of the Evangelists Marc and John in the Chapel of the Crucifix in the Church of San Marcello al Corso (fig. 97), which the artist painted before the Sack of Rome.⁸²² Moreover, the anatomical outlining of the putti and their dynamic position looks highly similar to the Child of the unfinished *Madonna* of the Courtauld Institute (fig. 98): a painting that is characterized by a controversial dating but that is mainly associated with the composition of the *Madonna with St. Francis* (fig. 99-100), dated to Perino's Genovese period.⁸²³ This latter painting, in its inspiration to Fra Bartolomeo's altarpiece in the Cathedral of Lucca (fig. 2), might suggest the possibility of a Lucchese sojourn of the artist, as Bernice Davidson has proposed.⁸²⁴ This possibility is supported by the known travels of Perino, who, while working in Genoa, was also occupied with the decoration of the Cathedral of Pisa: a commission today attested to by the remains of another frieze with putti (fig. 101 a, b and c)⁸²⁵ that can be in turn be compared with the stylistic features of the fresco in Castel Sant'Angelo. The decorative solutions of the frieze of Castel Sant'Angelo, with putti coming out from acanthus leaves, even if well-

⁸²¹ See in particular Parma Armani, *Perin del Vaga. L'anello mancante*, 55-62 and 258-260.

⁸²² Parma, *Perino del Vaga: tra Raffaello e Michelangelo*, 165-167.

⁸²³ Parma Armani, *Perin del Vaga. L'anello mancante*, 163-164 and 316. On the *Madonna* of the Courtauld Institute see also Parma, *Perino del Vaga: tra Raffaello e Michelangelo*, 78.

⁸²⁴ Bernice Davidson, *Mostra di disegni di Perino del Vaga e la sua cerchia. Catalogo critico* (Firenze: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1966), n. 34, 38-39.

⁸²⁵ Parma Armani, *Perin del Vaga. L'anello mancante*, 153-155 and 323-326. On this commission see also, A. E. Popham, "Sogliani and Perino del Vaga at Pisa", *The Burlington Magazine*, vol. 86, n. 52 (1945), 85-90.

diffused,⁸²⁶ finds an analogous formulation in the stuccos of the vaults of the Loggia degli Eroi in Palazzo Doria (fig. 102). Here also the construction of the putti in the lunettes (fig. 103), certainly executed by Perino's collaborators, looks very similar to the Roman fresco, in both the complicated poses and tridimensional articulation.⁸²⁷ In conclusion, the fresco of Castel Sant'Angelo can be especially compared with a series of works that Perino executed during his Genoese sojourn, when he also moved to Pisa and Lucca, as well as with the works that the artist had realized in Rome before the sack of 1527.

Michele Grechi certainly went to Rome after the Sack, as he paid two *scudi* for the admission to the Università dei Pittori in 1534.⁸²⁸ As Missirini recalls, this sum had to be given by the artists who arrived in Rome after 1527, whereas the artists who had already paid before the Sack, and had lost their license in that tumultuous episode, had to pay the half of the amount.⁸²⁹ The Lucchese origin of the artist cannot be discussed, as it is always recalled in the documents and even in the

⁸²⁶ Paola Picardi notes that Michele Grechi used this motif in the engravings of the *Prospettive et Antichità*, where it seems to have been copied from a print of Agostino Veneziano. Picardi, *Perino del Vaga, Michele Lucchese*, 98-99.

⁸²⁷ Parma Armani, *Perin del Vaga. L'anello mancante*, 99-130; Piero Boccardo, *Andrea Doria e le Arti. Committenza e Mecenatismo a Genova* (Roma: Fratelli Palombi, 1989), 51-59; Campigli, *Silvio Cosini*, 153-195; Marco Campigli, "Girolamo da Treviso, Perin del Vaga, Pordenone e Beccafumi: quattro artisti per un ciclo di affreschi genovesi", *Nuovi studi*, n. 16 (2011), 37-50; Marco Campigli, "Silvio Cosini, Niccolò da Corte e la scultura a Palazzo Doria", *Nuovi studi*, n. 19 (2014), 83-104.

⁸²⁸ Picardi, *Perino del Vaga, Michele Lucchese*, 81 and Salvagni, "da Universitas ad Accademia", 83 and 350.

⁸²⁹ Melchiorre Missirini, *Memorie per servire alla storia della Romana Accademia di S. Luca fino alla morte di Antonio Canova* (Roma: De Romanis, 1823), 13-14. See also Guy-Michel Leproux, "Les peintres romains devant le tribunal du sénateur 1544 – 1564", *Monuments et mémoires de la Fondation Eugène Piot*, n. 72 (1991), 115, note 3; Calzona, "La Gloria de' Prencipi", 57; Picardi, *Perino del Vaga, Michele Lucchese*, 81.

monograms.⁸³⁰ Hence, the strong inspiration by Perino's style that characterizes the frieze of Castel Sant'Angelo, and that is confirmed by the successive production of the Lucchese, might be explained by a first contact between Michele and Perino del Vaga outside of the Roman context. A likely solution is the hypothesis of a collaboration between Michele Lucchese and Perino del Vaga (who might also have been in Lucca) in the decorations of Palazzo Doria or the Cathedral of Pisa. Furthermore, the repetition of the same motif along the frieze of Castel Sant'Angelo shows the certain use of models that, in the strong inspiration by Perino, were possibly given to collaborators by the master himself, at that time occupied by the works in Genoa and Pisa and not able to personally satisfy a papal commission.

The artists' testament and the inspiration by Perino's models that characterizes the frieze support the attribution of the work to Michele Lucchese, although it is not possible to exclude the possibility that the fresco was executed by a homonymous painter. In fact, the evaluation of the frieze is complicated by the collaboration of Matteo Crassetti da

⁸³⁰ The information on the Roman origin of the painter, mentioned by Nagler and Passavant, must be considered wrong. The two scholars also indicate, as years of birth of the artist, respectively 1529 and 1539, but the dates are inconsistent with data on the artist's life. Georg Kaspar Nagler, *Neues allgemeines Künstler-Lexicon oder Nachrichten von dem Leben und den Werken der Maler, Bildhauer, Baumeister, Kupferstecher, Formschneider, Lithographen, Zeichner, Medailleure, Elfenbeinarbeiter, etc.* (München: Fleischmann, 1839), vol. 8, 94; Johann David Passavant, *Le peintre-graveur. Contenant l'Histoire de la gravure sur bois, sur métal et au burin jusque vers la fin du XVI siècle; l'histoire du nielle avec complément de la partie descriptive de l'Essai sur les nielles de Duchesne aîné et un Catalogue supplémentaire aux estampes du XV et XVI siècle du Peintre-graveur de Adam Bartsch* (Leipzig: Rudolph Weigel, 1864), vol. V, 166. The information is mentioned also in Arthur Mayger Hind, *Storia dell'incisione. Dal XV secolo al 1914* (Torino: Allemandi, 1998), 236 and *Raphael Invenit*, 872. For a discussion of the problem, see also Picardi, *Perino del Vaga, Michele Lucchese*, 81 and Alberti, "Contributi per Michele Grechi", 38. Ernesto Borelli, supporting the Lucchese origin of the artist, also notes that the surname "Del Greco" is widely diffused in Lucca. Borelli, *Nel segno di Fra Bartolomeo*, n. 70, 40. It can be added that the artist is recalled by local historiography. See this chapter, note 793.

Terranova in its realization, who cannot be certainly identified.⁸³¹ Moreover, in the document relating to this commission, Michele is recalled as “magister”, which indicates an artist that is already mature, while the following year he will be designated as a simple “pictor” in the document of admission to the Università. Even if the use of these definitions actually changed according to the circumstances,⁸³² the lack

⁸³¹ Eraldo Gaudio identified Matteo Crassetti da Terranova with the homonymous miniator, who is attested in Rome since 1519, and until 1529 worked to the decorations of some codex in the monasteries of Montecassino and San Pietro in Perugia. Gaudio attributed to Matteo Crassetti the decoration of the ceiling of the room of Clement VII, whereas he considered Michele Lucchese the author of the painted frieze. See Gaudio, “I lavori farnesiani a Castel Sant’Angelo”, 39, note 39. Anyway, Matteo Crassetti da Terranova, whose personality as miniator must still be well defined, is not attested as a painter and in the monumental decoration. Moreover, as a miniator, he is not attested after 1529. On Matteo Crassetti da Terranova, see Fiorella Sricchia Santoro, “Appunti per i corali cinquecenteschi dell’Abbazia di Montecassino. Il maestro del retablo di Bolea e un’ipotesi per “Loyse da Napoli”, in *Napoli, l’Europa. Ricerche di storia dell’arte in onore di Ferdinando Bologna*, edited by Francesco Abbate and Fiorella Sricchia Santoro (Catanzaro: Meridiana Libri, 1995), 137-140; Cristiana Pasqualetti, *ad vocem* “Matteo da Terranova”, in *Dizionario Biografico dei Miniatori Italiani. Secoli IX-XVI*, edited by Milvia Bollati (Milano: Edizioni Sylvestre Bonnard), 746-747; Sara Giacomelli, “L’abbazia di San Pietro in Perugia e i suoi codici miniati”, *Rivista di storia della miniatura*, n. 9/10 (2005/2006), 103-118; Fabio Frezzato, ““Matteo da Terra Nuova miniatore fiorentino”: contributi ad una biografia a lungo discussa”, *Bollettino d’arte*, n. 95 (2010), 5,87-88; Teresa D’Urso, “Nel circuito cassinese: Matteo da Terranova, Aloyse da Napoli e Francesco Boccardi”, *Rivista di storia della miniatura*, n. 15 (2011), 142-155; Cristiana Pasqualetti, “I “Segreti d’arti diverse” della Biblioteca Marciana di Venezia, Matteo da Terranova e fra’ Vincenzo Pontano da Fondi: contributi sulla miniatura meridionale del Cinquecento”, *Rivista di storia della miniatura*, n. 18 (2014), 146-159. Isabella Salvagni also identifies the artist recalled in the payment for the frieze in Castel Sant’Angelo with the homonymous miniator. Matteo Crassetti da Terranova is Consul of the Accademia dei pittori e miniatori between 1542 and 1543. Salvagni, “*da Universitas ad Academia*”, 83-84 and 443.

⁸³² For a discussion of the varied use of these definitions in relation to Piero della Francesca, see James R. Banker, *The Culture of San Sepolcro during the Youth of Piero*

of information about the artist's birth date complicates the evaluation of his possible first known work. In addition, the good quality of the frieze seems to contrast with the inferior stylistic level of the engravings that Bernice Davidson has highlighted.

As a further element of evaluation, it must be observed that the frieze can be compared both with works attributed to Michele Grechi, such as the drawing with putti in Vasari's *Book of Drawings* (fig. 92), and with the (high-quality) frescos in the Palace of Paul III in Campidoglio. The dynamic composition and expressive interpretation of Perino's models that characterizes the putti dancing in circle (fig. 94), or around the female figures with unicorns, in the frescos of the palace, look especially similar to the articulation of the figures of Castel Sant'Angelo, despite the more accentuated sculptural representation of these latter. In this context, the evaluation of Michele as a painter can be clarified by the analysis of the frescos of the Guidiccioni Chapel, which, as far as is known, are the only paintings that can be certainly attributed to the artist's design.

Michele Grechi in the Guidiccioni Chapel

As previously stated, the decoration of the Guidiccioni Chapel, in accordance with Alessandro Guidiccioni's wishes, aimed to compete with the chapel of Guidiccioni's predecessor in the role of Commendator, Francesco De Landis.⁸³³ In this regard, not only the general organization of the decoration, with geometric frames delimited by stucco reliefs, recalls the configuration of De Landis Chapel; it is also true that the choice of an artist closely associated with Perino del Vaga and with papal commissions, such as Michele Grechi, is consistent with the artistic solutions displayed by the previous decorative phase.

Compared with the chapel of Francesco De Landis, the stucco decoration of the Guidiccioni Chapel (which is in poor conditions such as the frescos) has a more evident ornamental character. As Louise Smith

della Francesca (Ann Arbor, Michigan: The University of Michigan Press, 2003), 104, note 18.

⁸³³ See previously in this chapter.

Bross has noted,⁸³⁴ every bit of surface is encrusted with stucco ornaments, which appear to be high classicizing. In fact, the stucco reliefs of the vault display a series of motifs taken from the ancient, such as grotesques, rosettes, and garlands (fig. 104 a and b), which in the lower frieze are repeated in the fresco decoration. Michele Grechi reproduced grotesques in a series of prints (fig. 82), whose models are identified, in the prints' labels, with Raphael's works "in pontificis domo".⁸³⁵ Michele's engravings replicate the decorations that Giovanni da Udine had realized in the Loggetta of Cardinal Bibiena and in the Sala dei Pontefici, where Perino had also worked. The imitation of these prototypes is quite inventive, as the engraver introduced innovations due to the influence of different models.⁸³⁶ A free re-elaboration of models can be observed in other prints by the artist, including the aforementioned Dürer's *Man of Sorrows* (fig. 89).⁸³⁷ In the case of the grotesques, it has been supposed that Michele might have examined, possibly through Perino, copies already modified: re-elaborations of the originals to be used for other decorative projects and diffused among Perino's collaborators.⁸³⁸ In any case, prints attest a familiarity with the ancient decoration, as developed within Raphael's circle, that is also displayed by the frescos of the Palace of Paul III.⁸³⁹

The classicizing character of the stucco ornamentation is also shown by its modelling, which is mostly two-dimensional, with the low relief preferred over a sculptural configuration. This typology of stucco decoration looks very similar, despite the lower qualitative level of the

⁸³⁴ Smith Bross, *The Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia*, 140-141.

⁸³⁵ See in the catalogue of Michele's work published by Alessia Alberti, n. 27, 28 and 29. Alberti, "Contributi per Michele Grechi", 45 and 64-65. See also *Raphael Invenit*, 64; Goi, "Le grottesche nelle stampe del Cinquecento"; Picardi, *Perino del Vaga, Michele Lucchese*, 104-105.

⁸³⁶ Goi, "Le grottesche nelle stampe del Cinquecento".

⁸³⁷ See previously in this chapter.

⁸³⁸ Alberti, "Contributi per Michele Grechi", 54-55, note 34.

⁸³⁹ For the use of ancient decorative motifs in the Palace of Paul III in Campidoglio, see in particular, Picardi, *Perino del Vaga, Michele Lucchese*, especially 31-42.

chapel's ornamentation, to some works of Perino and his circle, such as the stuccos in the vaults of the Loggia degli Eroi in Genoa (fig. 102, 106 a and b)⁸⁴⁰ and the stucco decoration on the vault and walls of the Sala della Biblioteca in Castel Sant'Angelo (107 a and b).⁸⁴¹ Only the lower frieze in the vault of the chapel, showing angels with musical instruments and three dancing and holding-hands putti, develops a more evident sculptural modelling (fig. 105 a and b). Specifically, this decoration displays a varied configuration of the relief, from the low relief of the putti's legs and parts of the acanthus leaves, to the full relief of the musical instruments. Hence, the stucco ornamentation of the Guidiccioni Chapel seems to be only partially influenced by that sculptural configuration of the stucco decoration, in a more abundant and plentiful arrangement, which was expressed, in the same years, by works such as the Sala Regia in Vatican, the Chapel of Pallio in the Palace of the Cancelleria Apostolica, and the rooms of Palazzo Spada. It is instead more similar to an interpretation of stucco ornamentation developed in earlier decorative solutions. As already said, the decorations of Palazzo Doria look especially significant among these latter, as they support the hypothesis of a Genovese training of Michele Grechi.

The stucco reliefs indicate the certain participation of different collaborators in the decoration of the Guidiccioni chapel. The intervention of several artists is also shown by the differences between the paintings of the various parts of the chapel,⁸⁴² whose evaluation is nevertheless problematic due to the frescos' poor conditions of preservation. The frescos of the upper level of the vault (fig. 63-65) – certainly repainted – are characterized by a schematic body configuration and pronounced contour lines. Among the frescos of the

⁸⁴⁰ On this stucco ornamentation, see in particular Campigli, *Silvio Cosini*, 153-195 and Campigli, "Silvio Cosini, Niccolò da Corte e la scultura a Palazzo Doria".

⁸⁴¹ On this decoration, realized in 1544-1545 by Perino's collaborator Luzio Luzzi, see *Gli affreschi di Paolo III a Castel Sant'Angelo*, vol. 2, 18-36.

⁸⁴² The stylistic differences are not highlighted by Louise Smith Bross, but are remarked by Gonzalo Redín Michaus. See Redín Michaus *Pedro Rubiales, Gaspar Becerra y los pintores españoles*, 78-79.

lower section, the episodes of *Christ before Pilate* and the *Way to Calvary* (fig. 67-68) display a much softer coloring and a more naturalistic representation of movement. Prophets (fig. 69-71) must be likely assigned to one more artist, as they are characterized by fluid brushstrokes, as well as by an accentuated plastic configuration and expressive faces.⁸⁴³ The allegorical figures in the painted cameos are characterized by a rapid, almost classicizing, coloring. On the other hand, the collaboration of different artists is suggested by the contract for the decoration of the chapel (doc. 4). It specifies that Michele Grechi had to paint the altarpiece and “design” the decoration. Therefore the document seems to imply that system of organization of work, certainly employed in Perino’s workshop, and also adopted in the Palace of Paul III, based on the the master’s drawings, being executed by several collaborators.⁸⁴⁴

A common trait of the frescos is the classicizing inspiration, which clearly results from the ancient costumes and the architectural settings of the scenes. Some figures belong to a classicistic typology that is repeated in contemporary decorations related to Perino del Vaga. In this regard, Gonzalo Redín Michaus has remarked upon the repetition of a figure of warrior, seen from the back, represented in the episode of *Christ before Pilate* in the chapel (fig. 67, 109), and, with analogous aspect, in the scene of the *Apparition of Aeneas and Achates* in the frieze of Palazzo Massimo (fig. 108),⁸⁴⁵ which Davidson had assigned to Michele Grechi.⁸⁴⁶ The attribution of the frieze of Palazzo Massimo, where Redín Michaus in turn saw the possible presence of Michele Lucchese, remains a debated problem.⁸⁴⁷ The analogies with the paintings of the Guidiccioni

⁸⁴³ The evaluation of Gonzalo Redín Michaus, who considers the prophets as expression of an artistic culture completely different from the Tosco-Roman tradition seems to be contradicted by the evident inspiration of these figures to Michelangelo’s plastic configuration. *Ibid.*, 79.

⁸⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 78.

⁸⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 138-139.

⁸⁴⁶ Davidson, “Introducing Michaeli Grechi”, 551.

⁸⁴⁷ The intervention of Michele Grechi has been refused by Elena Parma Armani. Simonetta Prosperi Valenti Rodinò assigned the frieze –mainly the stuccos - to

Chapel certainly confirm an inspiration by Perino's inventions that is suggested by at least one other evidence. The figure of the elder with a long white beard in the left foreground of the *Crowing of Thorns* (fig. 66, 111) is a quotation from ancient sculpture, as it comes from a Hellenistic relief representing *Dionysus Visiting a Tragic Poet*, which is supported in different versions.⁸⁴⁸ The relief had been present in the Maffei collection in Rome since the beginning of the 16th century.⁸⁴⁹ It was reproduced in several drawings (fig. 112)⁸⁵⁰ and in an engraving of Antonio Lafréry's *Speculum*,⁸⁵¹ which show the success and the diffusion of this iconographic subject – and of the figure of Dyonisus in particular. The figure of the Guidiccioni Chapel presents the iconographic variation of the right hand placed on the chest, which had been employed in the fresco showing the sequence of dancers in the Palace of Paul III in Campidoglio (fig. 93b, 110).⁸⁵² This seems to confirm the exchange of drawings in the artistic circle of Perino, who had in turn quoted the same

Luzio Luzzi. See Parma Armani, *Perin del Vaga. L'anello mancante*, 177-188 and 283-284 and Simonetta Prosperi Valenti Rodinò, "Addenda a Luzio Luzzi disegnatore", *Bollettino d'arte*, n. 116 (2001), 39-78.

⁸⁴⁸ Charles Picard, "Observations sur la date et l'origine des reliefs dits de la 'Visite chez Ikarios'", *American Journal of Archaeology*, vol. 38, n. 1 (Jan. - Mar., 1934), 137-152. See also Nicole Dacos, *Le Logge di Raffaello. Maestro e bottega di fronte all'antico* (Roma: Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato, 1977), 155; Picardi, *Perino del Vaga*, Michele Lucchese, 38.

⁸⁴⁹ Phyllis Pray Bober and Ruth Rubinstein, *Renaissance Artists & Antique Sculpture. A Handbook of Sources* (London: Harvey Miller, 1986), 122. See also Picardi, *Perino del Vaga*, Michele Lucchese, 39.

⁸⁵⁰ Cornelius C. Vermeuhle III, *The Dal Pozzo-Albani Drawings of Classical Antiquities in the British Museum* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1960), 35 63, 155 n. 8488 fig. 100 and n. 8023 fig. 101; Dacos, *Le Logge di Raffaello*, 155; Pray Bober and Rubinstein, *Renaissance Artists & Antique Sculpture*, 123, fig. 90b, 90a; Picardi, *Perino del Vaga*, Michele Lucchese, 39.

⁸⁵¹ Christian Hülsen, *Das Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae des Antonio Lafreri* (s.l., 1921), 152, n. 46. Picardi, *Perino del Vaga*, Michele Lucchese, 39.

⁸⁵² On this fresco see Picardi, *Perino del Vaga*, Michele Lucchese, tav. V.

figure, with some changes, in the *Creation of Eve* of the Chapel of the Crucifixion in the Church of St. Marcello al Corso.⁸⁵³

The architectural settings of the paintings can be closely compared with Michele Lucchese's engravings, especially the *Prospettive et Antichità di Roma* (fig. 87). As has been noted, this series reflects the antiquarian taste that characterized the Roman context in the 1540s and the contemporary architectural debate, in a circulation of models between Italy and France.⁸⁵⁴ Compared with their French prototypes (fig. 88), Michele's reproductions show a less effective perspective construction, because of the substitution of the round format of the original prints with a rectangular frame.⁸⁵⁵ Indeed, Michele Grechi's engravings are generally characterized, as Davidson first remarked,⁸⁵⁶ by non-rigorous spatial configuration, which often determines a multiplication of figures on the same planes. An analogous uncertainty in the outline of the perspective planes can be observed in the frescos of the Guidiccioni Chapel, especially in the scenes of *Christ before Pilate* (fig. 67) and the *Way to Calvary* (fig. 68), which can also be compared with the artist's prints for the analogous figure-types. These latter are characterized by a colossal configuration, which is even more emphasized in the prophets.⁸⁵⁷ The prophets (fig. 69-71), because of their expressiveness, can be in turn compared to Michele's engraving production. On the other hand, their perspective accuracy, which leads to illusionistic solutions, such as the foot and drapery of the prophet in the lower part of the left pilaster hanging down from the frame (fig. 69), seems to be apart from the artist's style.

⁸⁵³ *Ibid.*, 39, note 111. See also Paul Joannides, *Michelangelo and His Influence. Drawings from Windsor Castle*. Catalogue of the Exhibition (Washington, National Gallery of Art, 17 October 1996 - 5 January 1997; London, The Queen's Gallery, 23 January - 5 April 1998) (Washington: The National Gallery of Art, 1996), 152, fig. 90.

⁸⁵⁴ On this series, see in particular Picardi, *Perino del Vaga, Michele Lucchese*, 89-101.

⁸⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 96.

⁸⁵⁶ Davidson, "Introducing Michaeli Grechi".

⁸⁵⁷ Redín Michaus *Pedro Rubiales, Gaspar Becerra y los pintores españoles*, 79.

The monumental configuration of the figures has been explained by the influence, on Michele's style, of Pellegrino Tibaldi, who had worked with the Lucchese on the furnishing of Paul III's funeral in 1549.⁸⁵⁸ However, the reference to Michelangelo's art appears to be an inner component of the figurative language of Michele Grechi, who not only looked at the Michelangelo through the mediation of Perino del Vaga, but also completed several reproductions of Michelangelo's works, including copies of the artist's *presentation drawings*. As Alessia Alberti has highlighted, Michele's prints of *The Fall of Phaeton* (fig. 113) and *The Dream* (after the drawings for Tommaso de' Cavalieri) and the *Madonna of Silence* (after the drawing for Vittoria Colonna, fig. 114) are very similar to the originals and should be consequently dated not far from Michelangelo's compositions.⁸⁵⁹ It can be observed that Michele's closeness to Michelangelo's art was certainly also mediated by the artist's protectors and patrons.

In a document of the Università dei Pittori, dated 6 October 1549, the Lucchese is recalled as "Micael de Lucca, pictor in domo Reverendissimi Sancta Flora",⁸⁶⁰ that is as the painter of the cardinal of Santa Fiora Guido Ascanio Sforza (1518-1564), the son of Count Bosio of Santa Fiora and Costanza Farnese, the natural daughter of Pope Paul III.⁸⁶¹ The

⁸⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁸⁵⁹ *D'Après Michelangelo*, 169-172.

⁸⁶⁰ Leproux, "La Corporation Romaine des Peintres 'et Autres'", 306. See also Picardi, *Perino del Vaga, Michele Lucchese*, 83 and Alberti, "Contributi per Michele Grechi", 39.

⁸⁶¹ On Guido Ascanio Sforza, see Nicola Ratti, *Della famiglia Sforza. Parte I* (Roma: presso il Salomoni, 1794), 233-252; Gaetano Moroni, *Dizionario di erudizione storico-ecclesiastica* (Venezia: Tipografia Emiliana, 1854), vol. 65, 93-95; Calzona, "La Gloria de' Prencipi"; Fausto Pace, "Notizie sulla famiglia Sforza Cesarini di Roma", in *Palazzo Sforza Cesarini* (Roma: De Luca Editori d'Arte, 2008), 118; *Gli Sforza di Santa Fiora* (Arcidosso: Effigi, 2009); Carla Benocci, "La Roma degli Sforza sfida il Granducato mediceo: la Sforzesca dei cardinali di Santa Fiora Guido Ascanio e Alessandro", *Studi Romani*, anno LVIII (2010), 247-275; Picardi, *Perino del Vaga, Michele Lucchese*, 86-89. On Costanza Farnese, see Roberto Zapperi, *ad vocem* "FARNESE, Costanza", in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Roma, Istituto dell'Enciclopedia italiana, 1995), vol. 45, 81-82

relationship between the artist and the Pope's nephew should date back to 1545ca., when in the previously mentioned documents for the decorations in Castel Sant'Angelo, Michele was defined as "magister Michaeli Grechi pictori lucano familiare nostro" by Guido Ascanio Sforza who, as *camerlengo*, signed the payments.⁸⁶² Furthermore, in a notary deed of 1557, the painter was recalled as "pittore del cardinale Santa Fiora".⁸⁶³ Michele Grechi dedicated to Guido Ascanio Sforza the *Prospettive et Antichità di Roma* (fig. 87),⁸⁶⁴ as well as two engravings of the works that Paul III had commissioned to Michelangelo, the *Last Judgement* and the *Crucifixion of St. Peter* in the Pauline Chapel (fig. 86, 85).⁸⁶⁵ On the other hand, the Cardinal himself commissioned Michelangelo with the project of his family chapel in the Church of Santa Maria Maggiore, where he held the position of Archpriest.⁸⁶⁶

Michele's engraving of the *Fugger Altarpiece* by Giulio Romano shows a dedication to another personality related to the Farnese family who came from the Sforza of Santa Fiora on his mother's side: Giuliano Cesarini (1491-1566).⁸⁶⁷ Giuliano Cesarini was also associated with the circle of

⁸⁶² ASR, *Camerali I, Mandati*, b. 881, c. 85v, payment of 27 November 1545 and b. 882, c. 101v, payment of 3 February 1546. Picardi, *Perino del Vaga, Michele Lucchese*, 86, note 160 and Alberti, "Contributi per Michele Grechi", 39.

⁸⁶³ Davidson, "Introducing Michaeli Grechi", 550; Picardi, *Perino del Vaga, Michele Lucchese*, 86 and 172-173, doc. 16.

⁸⁶⁴ The dedication of the work has been published by Picardi, *Perino del Vaga, Michele Lucchese*, 173-174, doc. 18 and Alberti, "Contributi per Michele Grechi", 39.

⁸⁶⁵ Picardi, *Perino del Vaga, Michele Lucchese*, 102-103 and Alberti, "Contributi per Michele Grechi", 39.

⁸⁶⁶ On this commission, see Georg Satzinger, "Michelangelos Cappella Sforza", *Römisches Jahrbuch der Bibliotheca Hertziana*, n. 35 (2003-2004), 327-424 and id., "Cappella Sforza in Santa Maria Maggiore", in *Michelangelo architetto a Roma. Catalogo della mostra* (Roma, Musei Capitolini 6 ottobre 2009 - 7 febbraio 2010), edited by Mauro Mussolin (Cinisello Balsamo, Milano: Silvana Editoriale, 2009), 214-225.

⁸⁶⁷ Alberti, "Contributi per Michele Grechi", 40. On Giuliano Cesarini, see Ratti, *Della famiglia Sforza. Parte I, ad. ind.*; Alberto Galieti, *Per la storia della famiglia Cesarini* (Roma: Società Romana di storia patria), 1914, *ad. ind.*; Gigliola Fragnito,

Michelangelo's familiars, as the Roman noble was married to Giulia Colonna, the cousin of Vittoria Colonna, who Cesarini hosted in his Roman Palace, at the end of her life.

Michele Grechi's connections with a circle of patrons not only close to Michelangelo but also to the "spiritual" movement seems to be confirmed by the artist's engraving of the *Madonna of Silence* (fig. 114). As it has been noted, this print is completed by some verses from the *Song of Songs* that emphasize the interpretation of the image in "spiritual" terms.⁸⁶⁸ These circumstances not only support the hypothesis that Michele Lucchese might have designed, in the context of the Guidiccioni Chapel, the relief of the Pietà of the Foderato Memorial, but also lead to an analysis of the artistic patronage of Alessandro Guidiccioni in the context of the network of the artist's patronage relationships.

4.2.4 The Character of Alessandro Guidiccioni's Intervention

Apart from the episode of the Guidiccioni Chapel, the relationship between Alessandro Guidiccioni and Michele Lucchese is not further known and it is only possible to suppose a promotion of the artist at the Farnese Court by the Guidiccioni family. The common origin of the patron and the artist, as well as their activity for the Farnese family, certainly make the decoration of the Guidiccioni Chapel a unique case of Lucchese patronage in mid-sixteenth-century Rome. As previously noted, this decorative intervention shows the coexistence of a classicizing and decorative taste with the centrality of a religious message focused on the celebration of the Passion of Christ. The precise importance of this subject in Guidiccioni's decorative project has mainly

Storia di Clelia Farnese. Amori, potere, violenza nella Roma della Controriforma (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2013), in particular 47-49; Rebecchini, "After the Medici"; Patrizia Rosini, *Famiglia Cesarini. Ricerche e documenti* (Lulu: 2016), *ad. ind.*

⁸⁶⁸ *D'Après Michelangelo*, 347-348.

driven the different interpretations of Guidiccioni's patronage in Santo Spirito in Sassia.

Louise Smith Bross has considered Alessandro Guidiccioni's decorative campaign in the context of a unified iconographic program that would have been established during the previous decorative phase. This program would have been designed to exalt an ecclesiastical message: the celebration of "the essential role that the Church played in the dispensation of Eucharist by which the salvation of mankind was assured."⁸⁶⁹ This interpretation finds a correspondence not only in the papal character of the Church, but also in the continuity of artistic choices that bound the Guidiccioni campaign to the former decorative phase. On the other hand, this reading tends to deny the autonomous contribution of Alessandro Guidiccioni, who, as it was said, likely altered the previous architectural project by collocating the organ on the side nave. The new and unusual position of the organ remarked the importance of the Guidiccioni Chapel while simultaneously exulting the theme of the Crucifixion, which was further celebrated in the ornamentation of Alessandro's family sepulcher. The original character of this decorative intervention seems to be confirmed by its comparison with the works certainly ascribed to De Landis Governorship that are not focused on the theme of the Crucifixion, and of the Sacrifice of Christ, with the same intensity: the Chapel dedicated to St. John Evangelist, Roviale's *Conversion of Saul* and Marco Pino's *Visitation*.

Barbara Agosti has remarked upon the personal character of Alessandro Guidiccioni's artistic choices. In her opinion, the celebration of the Passion of Christ would be connected with the centrality of the cult of Passion in Lucca.⁸⁷⁰ Moreover, the reproduction of Michelangelo's *Pietà* for Vittoria Colonna would not only attest the contemporary wide diffusion of this iconographic invention in different media and materials, including the monumental decoration; it would also be a precise

⁸⁶⁹ Smith Bross, *The Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia*, 174-175.

⁸⁷⁰ Agosti, "Intorno alla cappella Guidiccioni", 261. On the centrality of the cult of the Passion of Christ in Lucca, see Berengo, *Nobili e mercanti*, in particular 360. See also chapter 1.1.

iconographic choice, certainly aware of the authentic “spiritual” meaning of Michelangelo’s composition.⁸⁷¹ As Agosti has noted, this interpretation is supported by Alessandro Guidiccioni’s personal relationships, which likely influenced his cultural interests.

Indeed, Alessandro’s conscious reference to the “spiritual” value of Michelangelo’s composition might derive from his familiarity with his cousin Giovanni Guidiccioni, who, despite a religious position that cannot be properly defined as “spiritual”, was closely associated with some of the most important representatives of Italian Evangelism, with Vittoria Colonna in particular.⁸⁷² In addition, Alessandro’s closeness with the circle of Vittoria Colonna’s intimates is attested by Paolo Giovio’s epistolary. In a letter to Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, dated 9 October 1543, Giovio, discussing the imminent creation of new cardinals, wished for some churchman to be given this ecclesiastical promotion. He mentioned the following in particular: Girolamo Capodiferro and Tiberio Crispi, both admirers of Michelangelo; Francesco Sfrondato; and Alessandro Guidiccioni, whom he ironically described as secretly exorcising the failure of the election, which was at risk because of Bernardino da Siena.⁸⁷³ As Agosti has underlined, Guidiccioni’s “exorcism” seems to indicate the negative consequences of the success of Ochino’s preaching in Lucca - which had been strongly admired by Giovanni Guidiccioni other than by Vittoria Colonna - after the friar’s escape from Italy.⁸⁷⁴ In fact, all the churchmen mentioned by Giovio would be appointed cardinals in 1544, except for Alessandro

⁸⁷¹ Agosti, “Intorno alla cappella Guidiccioni”.

⁸⁷² *Ibid.*, 261-263. On Giovanni Guidiccioni’s religious positions, see chapter 3.2.

⁸⁷³ «O quanto voluntera vorrei vedere quella mattina del ‘Te deum laudamus’ la non affettata barba capoferrea fra li doppi frangioni, il passo dolce undoso del mio Crispo, il Corso bigio con le pugna alzate al cielo sotto coperta fare le fiche a Fra Bernardino da Sena, e dil scelto Sfrondato il salto di lionpardo ad gradus marmoreos.» Paolo Giovio, *Lettere*, edited by Giuseppe Guido Ferrero (Roma: Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato, Libreria dello Stato, 1956), vol. 1, 327. Alessandro Guidiccioni is recalled as “Corso bigio” because of his position of Bishop of Ajaccio in Corsica. See Agosti, “Intorno alla cappella Guidiccioni”, 262.

⁸⁷⁴ On the success of Ochino’s preaching in Lucca, see chapter 1.1.

Guidiccioni.⁸⁷⁵ Moreover, the letter evidences the acquaintance between Alessandro Guidiccioni and Paolo Giovio, who was in turn closely associated with the Marchioness of Pescara.⁸⁷⁶ Alessandro's familiarity with personalities bound to Vittoria Colonna supports the hypothesis of an "aware" use of Michelangelo's *Pietà* composition in the chapel's decoration, which seems to also be indicated by the choice of such an artist as Michele Grechi, who was associated with Michelangelo's patrons and Vittoria Colonna's familiars.

A further evidence of Alessandro Guidiccioni's network of personal relationships and of his cultural orientations can be derived from his participation to the Confraternity of the Sacred Sacrament.⁸⁷⁷ This confraternity was founded by Paul III in 1539 with the aim of promoting the Eucharistic devotion through the cult of *Corpus Domini*.⁸⁷⁸ The initiative was accompanied by the construction of a chapel in St. Peter's Basilica dedicated to the Sacred Sacrament, whose architectural and decorative project was assigned to the official artists of the Farnese court: Antonio da Sangallo and Perino del Vaga. The presence of Alessandro Guidiccioni in what appears to be a restricted circle of eminent representatives of the Farnese court shows the prestigious position of the Lucchese in the Roman context and highlights the different cultural interests that his personal relationships might have promoted.

⁸⁷⁵ Agosti, "Intorno alla cappella Guidiccioni", 262-263. On the election to cardinalate of these churchmen, on 19 December 1544, see Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica*, vol. III, 29.

⁸⁷⁶ Agosti, "Intorno alla cappella Guidiccioni", 262-263 and 265, note 25. On the friendship between Paolo Giovio and Vittoria Colonna, see Dionisotti, "Appunti sul Bembo e Vittoria Colonna", in id., *Scritti sul Bembo*, 115-140. Barbara Agosti also recalls Giovanni Guidiccioni's sonnet dedicated to Paolo Giovio and focused on their common admiration for Vittoria Colonna. Guidiccioni, *Rime*, 26.

⁸⁷⁷ I thank Valentina Balzarotti for this information. The composition of the Confraternity will be analyzed in an upcoming publication by the scholar.

⁸⁷⁸ On the confraternity see, "Storiografia e archivi delle confraternite romane", *Ricerche per la Storia Religiosa di Roma*, n. 6 (1985), 382-383. On the Roman confraternities promoting the Eucharistic devotion, see "Le confraternite romane: esperienza religiosa, società, committenza artistica", *Ricerche per la storia religiosa di Roma*, n. 5 (1984), 167-172.

In this regard, the decorative intervention of Alessandro Guidiccioni in the Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia can be defined in terms of a Lucchese participation in the various cultural orientations of the Roman court. It displays a combination of antiquarian taste and celebration of the experience of the sacrifice of Christ, which was certainly familiar with the Lucchese tradition, as well as with the “spiritual” interpretation. Moreover, it also aimed to promote the official Eucharistic devotion, thus highlighting the central role of the Church as mediator of salvation.

Conclusions

The Guidiccioni case highlights an interaction between the peripheral microcosm of Lucca and the central context of the Roman court that is peculiar in many respects in mid-sixteenth-century Italy. This case extended the familial structure of Lucchese society and the consequent celebration of family authority to the Roman background. It exhibited a varied arrangement of religious approaches that can be defined as “moderate” positions in the wide array of religious ideas of the central years of the 16th century. Furthermore, it produced a “Lucchese” artistic celebration at the Papal court, which cannot be compared with any other analogous example. As a particular case study, Guidiccioni’s patronage does not attempt to be a general representation of the artistic and cultural relationships between Lucca and Rome in the mid-sixteenth century. However, it contributes to the understanding of this interaction by identifying some problems that are associated with the interpretation of the Lucchese as well as the Roman background.

Firstly, as an example of Lucchese patronage outside of the Lucchese context, the Guidiccioni case questions the apparent reduction of the artistic production and artistic patronage in Lucca well beyond the diffusion of heretical ideas in the town. Indeed, the patronage of the Guidiccioni family leads to an investigation of both the activity of Lucchese artists, such as Michele Grechi, and the possible existence of artistic patronage by the Lucchese nobles who lived outside the homeland. These latter include the Lucchese merchants that played a key role in the commercial markets of northern Europe. Their activity of cultural production has been mainly analyzed with regard to their participation in the contemporary religious crisis and in the related publication of books. The artistic and cultural expressions of the Guidiccioni family contribute to an examination of their possible artistic collecting and patronage, which have never before been deeply examined by studies of sixteenth-century Lucca’s society. On the other hand, this analysis seems to be an essential contribution to the understanding of the characters of the sixteenth-century Lucchese

context, as well as its cultural expressions and network of intellectual connections.

In the Lucchese framework, the patronage activity of the Guidiccioni family shows the elaboration of “local” artistic manifestations. In fact, works such as the family palace and Giovanni’s funeral monument reinterpreted normative artistic models (Florentine and Roman) both in a local artistic language and through the mediation of peripheral elaborations of those same normative models. Simultaneously, Guidiccioni’s patronage displayed the adoption of forms of artistic expressions directly connected to the Roman context. In this regard, the artistic patronage of Giovanni Guidiccioni especially leads to an examination of the role of drawings and mobile objects, such as medals, in the diffusion of an antiquarian culture in Lucca. More precisely, Giovanni’s patronage raises a question about the possible influence of a classicizing taste on the development of local humanistic culture, which was mainly expressed in the development of a “religious humanism”. It seems to be especially important to verify the possible connection between the interpretation of the religious crisis in humanistic terms and the interest in antiquities, which so characteristically shaped the Roman context in the mid-sixteenth century. Indeed, the likely contribution of an antiquarian taste does not only lead to redefining the cultural background of mid-sixteenth-century Lucca. It also contributes to a revaluation of the successive influence of forms of artistic expression directly connected to the study of the ancient, like Ammannati’s architecture. The hypothesis concerning the existence of an antiquarian culture in Lucca is also supported by the case of the artistic collecting of the Lucchese (and “heretic”) Giuseppe Giova. This is another example that highlights the importance of portable objects, such as coins and little statues, in the diffusion of a classicizing taste outside of its main centers of elaboration, including the Lucchese background.

In the Roman framework, the Guidiccioni case can be described as an inner Lucchese contribution to the definition of the peculiar characters of Roman culture that developed after the sack of 1527. In this regard, Guidiccioni’s artistic expressions in Rome should be considered neither as a simple “imitation” of the official forms of expression of the Roman

Church nor simply as an adhesion to diffused artistic models. They must rather be interpreted as an expression of Guidiccioni's intimate participation in the elaboration of the intellectual production of the Roman court. Specifically, they highlight an adhesion, in terms of a direct involvement, to the refined humanistic culture that was cultivated in the academic circles of the Roman context. The case of the Guidiccioni family allows the reconstruction of the cultural activity of other Lucchese nobles, such as Nicolao Franciotti and Giuseppe Giova, who also played a significant part in Roman academic life. These examples display the multiplicity of experiences that contributed to defining the Roman cultural background in the mid-sixteenth century. More precisely, they demonstrate the original Lucchese influence on the cultural and religious debate of Rome in the years of most intense religious crisis leading to a Catholic response to Luther's reformation.

This intimate relationship between the Roman and Lucchese contexts does not only contradict a straightforward interpretation of the interaction between central and peripheral backgrounds in terms of power relationships. It also highlights the role of "intermediate" personalities (from a cultural and specifically religious perspective) like the Guidiccioni as essential elements of connection and exchange for the elaboration of that "culture of transition" that led to the opening of the Council of Trento.

Appendix

Document 1

ASLu, Diplomatico, *San Romano*, 1 May 1509

Act of Consecration of the Church of San Romano

Notary: Pietro del fu Giovanni Paolo de Piscilla

Benedictus ordinis praedicatorum dei et apostolice sedis gratia episcopus Vasionensis. Universis et singulis presentes litteras inspecturis salutem in domino sempiternam, quoniam de licentia reverendissimi domini domini Sixti miseratione divina tituli Sancti Petri ad vincula presbiteri cardinalis, sancte Romana ecclesie vicencellary ac ex concessione et dispositione apostolica ecclesie lucane perpetui administratoris, ac reverendi patris domini Georgis de Franciottis de luca prothenotary apostolici, ipsius reverendissimi domini in prefata ecclesia lucana vicary generalis; ad requisitionem reverendissimi patris fratris Sancti de Pagninis de luca ordinis fratrum predicatorum, de observantia congregationis tuscie vicarij generalis, hodie die primo mensis May millesimi quingentesimi novi, indictione duodecima, astantibus ministris nostris, magna copia fratrum predicatorum predictorum qui eo tempore ad celebrationem capituli ipsorum fratrum congregationis tuscie Romane provincie una cum eorum reverendissimo generali vicario predicto eo in loco convenerant, presente devota populi lucani multitudine, altare maius ecclessie sancti Romani de luca sub titulo sanctissime et individue trinitatis, jn quo reliquias sancti Donati episcopi et martiris, sancti Romani martiris et quattuor sanctarum virginum sociarum beatissime Ursule, inclusimus. Ac ecclesiam ipsam sancti Romani, prefatis fratribus predicatoribus dicatam, et quam obtinent de presenti sub titulo eiusdem sancti Romani, servatis servandis iuxta formam et consuetudinem sancte Romane ecclesie, spiritus sancti gratia coherante, consecravimus et consecrationis munus eisdem impedimus. Voluimus de consecratione ipsa perpetuo constare

presentium per tenorem. Et ut ecclesia ipsa sancti Romani die consecrationis eiusmodi a Christi fidelibus iugiter veneretur et ad eam devotionis causa eo libentius se conserant quo celestis gratie dono uberius noverint se refertos. Nos benedictus episcopus antedictus de omnipotentis dei misericordia ac beatorum Petri et Pauli, apostolorum eius, autoritate confisi, omnibus et singulis Christi fidelibus utriusque sexus vere penitentibus et confessis, qui singulis annis in perpetuum die consecrationis huiusmodi ipsam ecclesiam Sancti Romani devote visitaverint, totiens quotiens eam visitaverint et pro qualibet hora canonica et qualibet missa qualibet, ea die in prefata ecclesia interfuerint quadraginta dies de iniunctis, sibi penitentijs misericorditer in domino relaxamus pariter et indulgemus. Memores quod sanctissimus in Christo pater et dominus [noster] dominus Iulius, divina providentia papa secundus, eius religionis et animarum salute recordatus, omnibus vere penitentibus et confessis ac manus adiutrices erga (erga) prefatum capitulum et eius fratres porrigentibus, die consecrationis predictae ab ortu solis usque ad occasum sequentis diei prefatam ecclesiam sancti Romani devote visitatibus, plenariam remissionem omnium peccatorum concessit, ut latius in litteris apostolicis [...] confectis vidimus contineri. In quorum omnium et singulorum fidem ac testimonium premissorum, has nostras litteras, sive presens publicum instrumentum, per notarium [...] Mandato nostro subscriptimus ac nostri consueti appensione munistimus, (id) duximus decernendum. Datum et actum luce in conventu ecclesie predictae sancti Romani coram et presentibus venerabilis viris: Dedio S. Nicolai Dedij, preposito ecclesie sancte Marie de Fighino diocesis Fesulane, presbitero Joanne Gerardi cappellano nostro, magnifico equite et doctore insigni domino Johanne Marco de Medicis, spectabilis viris Michaelle olim Petri de Burlamachis, Bernardino de Anteminellis, Toma olim Nicolai Montecatino, Jacobo olim domini Nicolai de Cittadella et Francisco olim Johannis de' Balbanis, mercatoribus de' luca, testibus ad predicta adhibitis vocatis et rogatis, et qui omnes prefate consecrationi presentes fuerunt ista die prima mensis May millesimi quingentisimi novi, indictione duodecima.

Document 2

ASLu, Testamenti, vol. 39, cc. 337-344

Testament of Bartolomeo Guidiccioni, 15 April 1539

notary Giuseppe Piscilla

In nomine Patris et filii et spiritus sancti Amen. Anno a nativitate domini nostri Iesu Christi MDXXXIX, Indictione XII, Pontificatus Sancti Domini Nostri Pauli Divina providentia pape III anno quinto, die vero XV mensis Aprilis.

Ego Bartolomeus filius quondam Ioannis de Guidicionibus, cardinalis et clericus lucensis, existens luce, et assidue me mortalem esse cogitans, viamque universe carnis ingressurum, et creatori ac redemptori meo, qui homini rationem dedit, volens ab eo rationem exigere firmissime, credens me, de dictis factis, tempore bonisque mihi ab eo collatis, rationem exactissimam reddituram, cognoscensque me servum et dispensatorem minus prudentem et fidelem inutilemque in multis deliquisse hac mea ultima et ad arbitrium ulterius nostra redditura voluntate, quam iure testamenti, codicillorum et cuiuslibet alterius supreme voluntatis, ac omni meliori modo quo potest, valere volo. In primis et ante omnia suppliciter oro dominum nostrum Iesum Christum creatorem, redemptorem, rectorem expectatorem et salvatorem meum, qui venturus est iudicare vivos et mortuos, et seculum per ignem, delicta iuventutis mee, et ignorantias meas ne meminerit, nec me [?] suum, peccatis adolescentie mei perdat sed per merita passionis sue gloriose et semper virginis matris suae Maria, ac omnium sanctorum suorum, dimittat mihi omnia peccata mea, et in fine vita mea, me non derelinquat sed ad se finem verum et ultimum et gloriam, ad quam creavit ac suo pretiosissimo sanguine redemit, perducere dignetur.

Cui anima mea, que ipsum diligit, in quem credit et sperat, commendo. Corpus vero, seu cadavere meum, si mihi in civitate vel diocesi lucensi mori contigerit hurnari et sepeliri volo in sepulchro maiorum meorum posito in cimiterio seu sepulchreto ecclesie Sancti Frediani, in qua sacramenta suscipere consuevi et in cuius parrochia domicilium habeo,

licet pater meus, peculiari quadam devotione et affectione sepulturam aliam sibi elegerit. Et quia Grig. Et Aug. asserunt curationem et impensam funeris conditionem sepulture et exequiam pompam solatia magis virorum quorum subsidia mortuorum esse corpus sive cadavedere meum indutum indumento sive cappa confratrum confraternitatis sanctorum laurentij et stephani iuxta et propte predictam ecclesiam sancti Frediani fundate, institute et existentis a confraternibus dicte confraternitatis et Reverendis dominis et patribus meis canonicis regularibus dicte ecclesie sancti Frediani, capsula lignea inclusum efferri et ad sepulchrum deduci volo quos rogo ne pium hoc officium facere recusent.

Et quia ut inquit Apostolus socij passionum et consolationum esse debent si me mori contigerit et sepeliri ut supra dixi Relinquo et lego ante dictis Reverendissimis dominis et patribus meis canonicis regularibus scutos auri viginti quing. humiliter eos precans nulla tamen obligatione adstringens ut, sicut pro alijs in eorum ecclesijs, cimiterijs seu sepulchretis et locis humatis et quiscernationibus orant, ita etiam pro me orant, non sint immemores ut dominus noster iesus Christus passionis sue meritis quidquid penarum pro delictis meis et debitis cum eo contractis merui, eorum precibus citius mihi relaxare, dimittere et acceptum ferre dignetur. Dictis vero confratribus confraternitatis ante dicte sanctorum laurentij et stephanij relinquo et lego scutos auri quatuor.

Rectori quoque ecclesie in qua familia nostra in pascale [?] sacramentum summere, candelas etiam et palmas accipere consuevit et sepius ego sumpsi et accepi quatuor scutos similes relinquo et lego.

Preterea pro observanda patrie mee laudabili institutione et pro salute anime mee relinquo et lego opere seu fabrice sancte crucis scutum auri unum.

Preterea relinquo et lego priori et conventui sancti petri cigoli in quorum ecclesia missas frequenter audire consuevi scutos auri tres.

Preterea relinquo et lego pauperibus victum liminatim et ostiatim querentibus scutos auri duos erogandos et distribuendos intra biduum post traditum corpus meum sepulture.

Preterea relinquo et lego cuilibet famulo et famule seu ancille mihi pro mercede et salario servienti qui saltim per tres menses obsequiis meis insiterit scutos auri quatuor ultra mercedem sibi debitam.

Et ad succidendas tollendasque omnes litium occasiones que forte ex bonorum successorumque diversitate oriri posset licet multe oriri deberent, declaro dico testor que proposito mens intentio mea fuit et est id totum quod a me ex paternis maternisque bonis pervenit quia illud magna ex parte in studio et romana curia priusque aliquid [?] absumpsi ut obloquentium ora obstruerem ex bonis labore et industria mea quesitis cum aliquo emolumento reponere ex fructibus nostribus redditibus et proventibus beneficiourum necessarium honestum commodum victum et vestitum percipere residuum vero egenis et consaguineis presertim et domesticis hisque in necessarijs pijs et honestis usibus subsidium et opem ferre concedente et adiutante domino quia ut dixit Apostolus qui suorum et maxime domesticorum curam non habet deviat a fide et est infideli deterior.

Et propterea anno MDXV die XVI mensis Februarij mutuavi Nicolao, Joanni et Antonio nepotibus meis ex Alexandro fratre pro danda dote Elisabet eorum sorori ducatos auri largos quadringentos ut constat instrumento rogato per ser Juseppe de Piscilla notarium lucensem. Item pro eisdem solui Thome de Bernardis eorum creditori ducatos auri largos quadraginta quatuor et scutos auri decem et octo, ut constat ex libris et scriptura manu ipsius Thome.

Preterea anno MDXVI die IIII octobris deposui penes mercatores de Bonvisijs et socios ducatos auri largos ducentos quos numeravi Bonaventure de Michaelibus ut constat instrumento rogato per ser Lazarum de Franchis notarium lucensem.

Preterea anno MDXIX die prima Octobris deposui apud Thomam et Baldassarem De Montecatino ducatos auri largos duecentos quinquaginta.

Item anno MDXX die XIII februarij deposui apud eosdem ducatos auri largos centum.

Item anno MDXXI die XIII Februarij soluit et numeravi.

Eisdem per manus venerabilis fratris Michaelis de Arnolfinis ducatos auri largos centum septuaginta duos [?] quos ultra supradictos trecentos

quingenta depositos, in rem usum et utilitatem meam impenderant ut ex computo et disputatione cum eis facto constat.

Preterea anno MDXXIII die XII mensis Julij deposui apud Nicolaum de Bonuissis et socios ducatos auri largos nonaginta novem, ducatos auri de camera decem et octo et scutos auri centum octoginta, quos antedicto Nicolao ex Anglia redeunti parme in hospitio cappelli numeravi.

Preterea anno MDXXVI de mense Septembris deposui apud Martinum et socios de Bonuissis ducatos auri largos quadringentos.

Preterea emi a domino Joanne nepoti meo ex fratre Alexandro supradicto terras apud montem tramitis pro pretio ducatorum auri largorum ducentum octoginta ut constat instrumento rogato per ser Michaellem ser Antonij die XIII septembris MDVII.

Quas omnes pecuniarum summas ex officis a me gestis circiter annos XXII in abbatia farfensi, in legatione picena et in episcopatu parmensi, laboreque et industria in romana curia, comparavi et lucratus sum curam antem administrandi et dispensandi eas, nec nostrus fructus redditus et proventus annorum XII vel curia ecclesie sancte marie ad colles nunc uni nunc alij ex fratribus meis commisi, qui in reparationem et instaurationem domus paterne magna ex parte minantis ruinam de consensu et voluntate Nicolai, Joannis Antonij nepotum meorum ex Alexandro fratre antedictorum domine lucretie eorum matris et tutricis, ac etiam Jacobi fratris mei ad partem domus pro rata impensarum a me in ea facendarum admittentium, ut scriptura eorum manibus subscripta et in instrumento rogato per ser Josephi de Piscilla die VIII Augusti MDXIX patet, computatis nonnullis impensis a me prius in eundem usum et opus factis, impenderunt ducatos auri largos mille quadringentos vel circa, ut satis ex eorum computis, rationibus scriptis et loci ac domus inspectione probatur et constat quam probationem pro vera legitima et sufficienti haberi volo. Et quisquis ex heredibus vel legatariis meis infrascriptis eam infringere vel impugnare tentaverit, omni fructu, comodo et utilitate huius mee ultime voluntatis penitus caveat non [?] ex eo quis fructum consequi meriture quod nixus est impugnare.

Preterea declaro, dico et testor ducatos auri quingenta annuos domino Joanni nepoti meo antedicto causa studij a me promissos, solutos et datos et quidquid amplius, tam ante ceptum ab eo studium,

quos eo durante et post finitum ac perfectum ea occasione a me habuit non repetendi sed donandi animo me promisisse, saluisse et dedisse.

Preterea declaro, dico et testor pecunias quas misi Antonio, prefati domini Joanni fratri et nepoti meo, Mediolanu per Georgium vagliensem. Nec non solutas eidem Antonio in eodem loco pro literas meas a Reverendissimo patre domino Luciano de Lalatis parmense, monacho ordinis sancti Benedicti. Item ducatos auri largos viginti quinque a me solutos pro pannis sericeis missis illi pisas, quando volebat sub illustrissimo domino Petro Luysio de Farnesio militare. Item ducatos auri de camera centum triginta a Reverendissimo domino Joanne Baptista de Bernardis et domino Armano de Lusiris de mandato et nomine meo, eidem Rome solutos et numeratos. Item scutos viginti auri a Reverendissimo domino Petro de Menochis insitui mei Rome eidem datos, ex pecunijs Reverendissimi domini Joannis dicti Antonij fratris, et a me ipsi Reverendissimo domino Joanni institutos et compensatos in pensione, quam mihi debitam meo nomine exegeat a priore et suibus sancti salvatoris deunda, et penes se habebat. Item quidquid ipsi Antonio et matri eius ac sororibus pro victi et vestitii dedi, intentione et animo donandi me dedisse et prestitisse.

Preterea relinquo et lego eidem Antonio nepoti meo antedicto terras supradictas, positas apud montem Tramitis, quas emi a Reverendissimo domino Joanni, eius fratre, pro ducatis auri largis ducentis octoginta, ut constat instrumento rogato per ser Michaellem ser Antonij die XIII Septembris MDXII.

Cum onere prestandi et reddendi singulis annis ecclesie Sancte Marie ad colles et rectori eius pro tempore existenti Maria tria frumenti, pro ducatis XII receptis a Bartolomeo quodam domini Lazari de Arnolfinis, ex pretio cuiusdam domus existenti in castro Nozani et pro parte ad dictam ecclesiam spectantis et pertinentis, pro quibus assignari volo et ex nunc assigno, tantam quantitatem ex dictis terris pro indiviso, quantam capiunt dicti ducati duodecim, quos habui in depositum a presbitero Augustino de pardis procuratore reverendissimi domini Joanni antedicti nepotis mei ecclesie prefate rectoris et dicte domus pro parte ipsam ecclesiam tangente dicto nomine venditore. Reservata

tamen facultate ipsi Antoni dandi et assignandi in alio loco terras eiusdem pretij et redditus.

Et quia promisi Bartolomeo quondam Hieronimi de Cenamis civi et mercatori lucensi si quid pro ipso Antonio soluerit occasione invasionis et depredationis ab eo facte una cum Aluisio de Vinianis et nonnullis aljs commilitionibus, contra quendam Julianum cole et quosdam alios pisanos, tamquam hostes tempore florentine oppugnationis, quod ab ipso Antonio aut ex bonis ipsius si forte ex vulneribus et in illa invasione et insultu illatis decessisset, ut credebatur, recuperare non posset me vestituum et satisfactuum ex tot terris ex supradictis a Reverendo domino Joanne emptis et semper paratus fui et sum (servatis servandis) de dictis terris satisfacere volo quia dicte terre ex ea causa obligate et hypothecate sint, Bartolomeo prefato pro summa et quantitate quam docuerit se soluisse Joanni cole antedicto, vel suis legitimo procuratori, cui soluisse hac terris fidem mihi legitime non fecit nec facere curavit, et in eum tum quam docuerit se soluisse et Antonium ab omni obligatione ea occasione contracta liberasse pro quantitate soluta tot terras ex supradictis eidem Bartolomeo assignavi et in solutum dari volo et mando et ex nunc do et assigno.

Preterea relinquo et lego reverendo domino Alexandro canonico lucensi pronepoti meo, ex Nicolao nepote, ex Alexandro fratre, omnem suppellectilem, penum, vinum, triticum et oleum que Luce mortis mee tempore me habere repertum fuerit.

Non tamen nummos seu signatam pecuniam si quam mortis tempore habere mihi contingevit Ex illa namquam fumeris mei impensam legata ecclesjis, locis ac personis pijs in pecunjs signatis a me relicta exsolui et prestari volo et mando. Et siquid supererit ad heredes infrascriptos pertineat.

Item relinquo et lego eidem Alexandro canonico quod mihi debet pro impensis quas feci in funere Nicolai patris eius. Item si iuri canonico vel civili operam dederit et se ad locum in quo studium vigeat generale et publice iura [?] causa discipline eo tulerit omnes meos libros exceptis illis quos dominus Nicolaus nepos meus ex fratre Cristoforo penes se habere, tempore mortis mee repertus fuerit. Item exscriptis manu mea

conscriptis quos corrigendos et emendandos reverendo domino Joanni nepoti episcopo forosemprionensi committo et lego.

Preterea declaro, dico et testor quod quidquid dedi Cristoforo fratri meo, pro studio domini Nicolai eius filij, et nepotis mei, aut ipsi domino Nicolao ob tandem causam, et similiter quidquid dedi Petro etiam fratri meo, occasione studij domini Paulini, eius filij et nepotis mei, aut ipsi domino Paulino, ob tandem causam, intentione et animo donandi, et non repetendi, me dedisse. Et simili intentione et animo feci omnes sumptus et impensas alimentorum pro fratribus et nepotibus meis, quotiens a me suscepti et facti fuerunt.

Preterea lego et relinquo cappelle Sancte Marie de Terrentio, que vicariatus nuncupatur, pro riparatione vel ornato ipsius scutos auri decem. Totidem lego et relinquo ecclesie sancte petri de cupermulo. Etiam tandem relinquo et lego ecclesie sancti Andree de castro Gualtino, pro simili reparacione vel ornatu.

Preterea quia litis semper odio habui, et non solum inferre, aut illatas suscipere, sed etiam inter alios viventes audire, mihi molestum sint, volens quatenus possum prospicere, ne propter me, vel res meas aut earum occasione, lis ulla moneatur, fateor, dico, dico et attestor, me partem domus aliorumque bonorum immobilium sive terrarum, que mihi ex hereditati, tam paterna quam materna obvenit, Alexandro fratri meo vendidisse. Et quamvis longe minore pretio, iusto, venditio facta fuerit, et de solutione et numeratione pretij minus [?] constat, tamen si mee huic ultime voluntati filij et [?] eius in aliquo non contravenerint, de pretio integre ab eo a me fuisse satisfactum, confiteor, et eos ab omni obligatione, occasione illius libero et absolvo.

Preterea declaro, dico et testor ducatos auri largos quadringentos, quos mutuam supradictis nepotibus meis pro danda dote Elisabet eorum sorori, ac etiam omnes summas et quantitates pecuniarum, a me in reparacione et refectione domus paterne, ut supra impensas, et pro quarum rata obligata est mihi domus et in partem receptus et admissus sum, nostra intentione et animo donandi me mutuasse et impendisse se repetendi, et ut meum habendi. Et similiter ducatos quadraginta quatuor, et scutos decem et octo, pro eis solutos Thome de Bernadis eorum creditori.

Preterea omnes et singulos debitores meos superius non expressos aut nominatos, amore dei, pro salute anime mee, sponte et gratis libero et absolvo. Et quidquid mihi debent, remitto, relaxo, dono, relinquo, lego, agens gratia dei omnipotenti quia ita me rexit, quia nullo ? alieno pressus ex hac misera et mortali vita recedo, nullia nisi illi debeo, quem supliciter oro, ut mihi servo suo quod debeo benigne condonet, et ita mihi omne debitum dimittat, sicut me [?] debitoribus meis dimittere, quidquid iniurarum mihi illaturum fuerit.

Preterea quia fratres mei Guidicionus et Petrus, tres partes ex sex in quas hereditas paterna ac materna inter nos divisa fuit, et sic dimidium omnium bonorum paternorum et maternorum, habent, tenent et possident et penes Vincentium Petri filium id totum mansurum esse arbitror, futurum ex preferito conjcens. Et nepotes et pronepotes mei ex Alexandro fratre partem que mihi ex dictis hereditatibus obvenit meliori pretio, a me Alexandro fratri venditam, et alia plura consecuti sunt, et beneficijs abundant, adeo quam nec ipsi fratres Guidicionus et Petrus, nec ipsi nepotes et pronepotes, egent. Neque possunt queri quam eos portione, que mihi ex bonis paternis et maternis obtigit, fraudaverim, cum multa plura eis contulerim. Nepotes vero ex Cristoforo fratre domum non habeant, et valde egeni sint, et a spe si qua habebant in Reverendo domine Joanne et Guidiccione ceciderint, duce ratione et equitate suadente, quia iure de me queri possent cum eis (domino Nicolao excepto) nihil prestaverim. In hac mea suprema et ultima voluntate, quam etiam eos diligam offendere decrevi, et propterea (premissis semper salvis) in omnibus meis bonis heredes universale equaliter et pro equis portionibus instituo, Alexandrum, dominum Nicolaum Bernardinum, Ludovicum et Aliprandum fratres, et nepotes meos ex Cristoforo fratre

Salvo tamen semper iure fidecommissi, si quod factum fuisse in testamento paterno (quod non reperitur et me adhuc latet) ullo tempore consiterit, cui pro portione que ad me ex hereditate paterna pervenit, nullatenus per venditionem Alexandro fratri factam, aut per hanc meam ultimam voluntatem, preiudicasse, aut preiudicare intendo, sed tam a legatarjs quam heredibus meis, respective pro rata contribuentibus, illi vel illis, ad quem vel quos spectabit, restitui volo et mando. Et siquid

forte ex hereditate, et bonis Guidiccioni fratris mei, ad antedictos heredes meos devenierit, tantumdem Petro fratri meo, et Vincentio eius filio, relinquo et lego.

Postremo quia refectio et reparatio domus paterne spiritus pacis et concordie suadente facta sint, omnes qui in dicta domus ius habent, enixe rogo ut mutuo se diligentes, eodemque pacis spiritu adiuvante, sicut sanguine ita omnia cohabitatione iuncti sint. Et si fieri poterit (quod in eis est) convivant, sin autem seditionis et discordie spiritu prevalente, pacemque et unitatem turbante, pacifice et simul vivere nequieverint. Et reverendissimus dominus Joannes episcopus, aut Antonius frater eius, vel reverendissimo dominus Alexander canonicus, dictorum Jo. and Ant. Nepos ex nicolao fratre, partem dicte domus ad me spectantem emere voluerit, vel pro ea domum aliam in urbe lucensi dare aut terras intra sextum lapidem seu miliare pro ea assignare, heredes mei suprascripti pro bono pacis et concordie vendere et permutare teneantur et compelli possent. Et ne heredes mei (si forte tempore mortis nummi et pecunia signata in hereditate non essent), eo pretextu legatos nummos solvere [?] vel differant, volo et mando quam portiones nolentium vel differentium prestare et [?] se [?] vocari ad crescant solventibus et prestantibus pro eis. Et omnibus reversantibus vel differentibus ut supra duplum legatoris prestare teneantur.

Huis mee voluntatis supreme, executores esse volo R.um in Cristo patrem et D.num priorem R.dum cappelanum et R.ndum sacrestanum ecclesie S.ti Frediani existentes, et quemlibet eorum in solidum.

Et quia intentio et mens mea est nemini nocere et quibus possum prodesse, pacemque inter omnes serere, optassem quam fratres et nepotes mei, sicut meis ut suis semper pro arbitrio usi sunt, ita et que residua sunt amice et pacifice inter se divisissent, me [?] a labore hoc testandi liberassent et quodam alia discordiarum semina extinxisset quod hortatu et precibus ab eis impetrare nequivi, sed forte quod viventi denegarum mortuo condonabunt. Eos itaque rogo ut infra decem dies ab obitu meo conveniant, et si aliter bona mea inter se dividenda esse duxerint, dividant, aut divisioni a me recta intentione facta equo animo et placide consentiant.

Et hanc voluntatem ego idem Bartolomeus suprascriptus dico, affirmo et assero esse et me velle esse meum ultimum testamentum ac supremam voluntatem meam quod et quam valere volo iure testamenti. Et si qua causa presenti vel futura iure testamenti valere non posset iure codicillorum, aut donationis causa mortis, vel cuiuslibet alterius ultime voluntatis, et omni miliori modo, via, iure et forma, quibus magis melius et validius ultime defunctorum voluntates tenere et valere possunt, eam valere volo, mando et iubeo. Revocans, irritans, cassans, cancellans, annullans omne aliud testamentum, codicillos et quamcumque aliam dispositionem, seu voluntatem ultimam per me hactenus conditum et conditam, tam coram notario et testibus, tam in scriptis quam sine scriptis, et alias quomodocumque, et sub quacumque verborum conceptione et forma, et cum quibusvis clausolis, etiam preservantis, et derogatorium derogatorjis. De quibus omnibus et singulis me penitere dico et testor. Et hanc solam meam voluntatem ultimam effectum sortiri volo, mando et iubeo, omni meliori modo, via, iure et forma quibus magis melius et validius possunt [...]

Document 3

ASR, Ospedali, Santo Spirito, vol. 230, f. 3v-4v

Contract between Alessandro Guidiccioni and Francesco Credenza for gilding the organ in the Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia, 30 July 1547 (from Howe, "Architecture for 'Divine Hymns'", 84-85)

Capitoli sopra lo indorare l'organo.

In Nomine Domini Amen. Anno a Nativitate eiusdem Domini millesimo quingentesimo quadagesimo septimo Indictione Quinta die vero trigesima mensis Iulii Pontificatus Sanctissimi in Christo presbiteris et Domini nostri Pauli divina providentia pape tertii anno 13°. R[everendus] p[resbiter] d[ominus] Alexander Guidicionis Episcopus Adiacensis ac commendator Hospitali Sancti Spiriti in Saxia de urbe et magister franciscus credenza neapolitanus devenerunt ad infrascriptam

concordiam seu capitulationem super inauratione organorum dicti hospitalis fienda iuxta et secundum formam infrascriptorum capitulorum quorum tenor sequitur et est talis, videlicet.

Capituli che se fanno fra lo Reverendo messer Alexandro Guidiccione Vesco de Aiace commendatore de Santo Spirito de Roman et maestro Francisco credenza napolitano sopra lo indorare de li organi della ecclesia de Santo Spirito de Roma, videlicet.

In primis el prefato maestro Francesco promette allo prefato commendatore presente et acceptante in termini de tre mesi proximi davenire da incomenzare dal primo di havera la prima pagha et finire secondo sequita [?] l'indorare dicti organi secondo lo designo per lui dato ad dicto commendatore, Et ingessare in modo che non rempia cosa alcuna dello intagliato et che lo gesso sia bene marinato[?] et lor sia bono sopra tutto.

Item che il quelli campi non se ce metta smalto ma azurro fino et non altramente. Item che in quelli campi Rossi che se faccia trasparenti overo sgraffiti et non altramente; per lo resto se faccia tutto bene secondo dicto designo quale serra sotto scripto da luna et l'altra parte Et tutto sia ad iudicio de periti da chaperse per ipse pare, videlicet unoper ciaschaduna parte.

Item el prefat Commendatore promette dargli per tutta l'opera finita scudi 250 ad Iullii [dieci?] per scudo dapagarsi in cinque paghe secondo la opera che lui farra et lultima pagha se habbia ad pagare finita l'opera.

Et dominus Alfonsus dellabretta habitans super platea Reverendissimi domini Cardinalis de trivultiis sciens ad premissa non teneri sed teneri volens/accesit supradicte obligationi ut principalis et insolidum qualis prefatus Magister franciscus promisit relavere indempnem et penitus sine dampno Pro quibus omnibus etc. observandis etc. prefatus magister franciscus et dominus Alfonsus sese et eorum bona et insolidum etd. Et prefatus Reverendus dominus Alexander commandatarius se et bona dicti hospitalis in ampliori forma camere postalice observaverunt etc. submisserunt et Renuntiaverunt et constituerunt et Iuraverunt etc. Actum Rome in palatio Reverendissimi domini Cardinalis farnesio

vulgariter dicto il palazzo de Santo Georgio in camera inferiori ubi ad presens inhabitat prefatus Commandatarius. Presentibus ibidem Nobili viro domino Latino Iuvenali cive Romano et domino Iacobo geneloti clerico Ianuensis [?] dioceses Testibusad premissa habitis, vocatis [?] atque rogatis.

Document 4

ASR, Ospedali, Santo Spirito, vol. 208, f. 117r and v
Contract for the decoration of the Guidiccioni Chapel between
Alessandro Guidiccioni and Michele Grechi, 14 October 1550 (from
Redín Michaus, *Pedro Rubiales, Gaspar Becerra y los pintores españoles*,
335-336)

Constituto avanti a me notario et doi testimoni infrascripti, Michele Grecchi Lucchesio, pictore in Roma per sua spontanea volonta promesse al Reverendissimo monsignore Alexandro Guidicione vescovo de Aiacio et comandatori del Venerabile Hospitalei di Sancto Spirito de Roma presenti etc. pingere la capella de dicto comandatore sub vocabulo crucifixi existente in la ecclesia de Sancto spirito ad rimpetto all'organo in questo modo videlicet:

In primis il predetto maestro Michele michele se obliga depingere il quadro quele va sopra l'altare de dicta capella videlicet. Uno crocefisso bello et il ritratto del predetto comandatore et in dicto quadro, et indorare l'ornamento de dicto quadro et metterci tutti li colori et altri artificii che se recturano in essi, et che li colori siano buoni et recipienti, et ad tutte spese del predicto magistro michaelae, excepto del ligname del quadro e del ponte che bisogna per fare ed ornare dicta capella. Item promette fare dicta capella de stucco bello et bono recipiente et bianco et farci varie figure de stucco, o vero de relievo dove bisognera, et quelle indorarle et pingere dicta capella de varie figure et de colori perfetti et boni, et mettere l'oro bello et bono dove bisognera, adeo che sia piu bella

et piu ornata, et di più l'apparenza de quella del quondam Francesco de Landis commendatore de dicto hospitale, ad tutte spese del predicto michele excepto del ligname come di sopra. Et dicte figure siano di fantasia del dicto depintore. Et il predicto commendatore li promette darli et pagare per fare fatta la sopradicta opera come di sopra e detto scudi¹²⁵ di moneta de juli dieci per scudo, da pagarsi in questo modo, quando commenciera scudi 30 simili et il resto de mano in mano secondo il lavoro, et il predicto maestro Michele promette darli finita dicta capella fra octo mesi proximi dal giorno incominciando da oggi et finire conegnata, ornata et depinta come di sopra è detto, senza exceptione alcuna, altrimenti che lo predicto commendatore la possa fare finire et supplire quelle tanto che manchara ad spese, danno et interesse del predicto maestro Michele [...]

Document 5

ASC, *Diversorum antiquorum* I, 894, c. 174, Michele Bartolomeo da Lucca and Matteo Cressetti da Torrenova, 16 September 1533 (from Picardi, *Perino del Vaga, Michele Lucchese*, 172)

Contract with Michele Bartolomeo da Lucca and Matteo Crassetti da Torrenova for painting two rooms in the papal apartment in Castel Sant'Angelo

In nomine domini amen, anno domini 1533 indictione 6 die vero 16 septembris pontificatus S.mi domini nostro Clementis anno X. Constituti personaliter Re.mus D. Guido de Medicis Castri S.ti Angeli Castellanus et magister Michael Barth. de Lucca ac magister Mattheus Cressetti de Terra nova comitatus civitatis Florentiae ambo depictores, convenerunt etc. supra pictura palcorum et frisorum duorum cubiculorum sive camerarum pontificis existentium in dicto castro S.ti Angeli cum infrascriptis pactis quod prefati depictores promisserunt etc. ad festum Nativitatis Domini nostri Jesu Christi proximum futurum dare perfectum et absolutum dictaeque picturae opus, et id hoc presenti die

inciperunt depingere et deaurare et facere totum id et quicquid fuerit necessarium in dicto opere pro ornamento etc. prout ostenderant per modellum et melius omnibus suis sumptibus tam de victu quam de aliis rebus etc.

Ex alio latere prefatus R.mus obligavit se dare palcos factos in dictis cameris, ut prefati depictores possent laborare, ac dare dictos frisos incollatos, et sic hendomoda in hendomodam dare nummos dictis depictoribus, ut possent dictum opus absolvere etc. usque ad summam centum scutorum quam voluit teneri solvere integraliter quando dictum opus fuerit absolutum etc. et pro satisfactione dicti operis prefate partes convenerunt quod postquam dictum opus depictare fuerit absolutum debeat estimari et iudicari per duos viros in arte peritos, videlicet unum pro parte eligendum, et si prefati viri non fuerint concordēs, habeant facultatem vocandi tertium et quicquid iudicaverint pro mercede dictorum depictorum de dicto opere dictus R.mus promisit et convenit solvere in pecunia numerata computata, dictam summam centum scutorum aut id tantum quantum prefati depictores usque ad id tempus perceperunt pro tali causa. Cum hoc pacto expresso quod prefatus R.mus nolit teneri solvere pro dicto opere ultra summam 200 scutorum...et si minoris precij estimaretur vult teneri solvere totum id quod estimatum fuerit et non plus et pro observatione premissorum prefate partes obligaverunt etc. et prefati depictores non observantes premissa obligaverunt se pro interesse et damnis que de commune consensu fuerunt extimata sc. duecentos applicandos prefato R.mo obbligantes se ipsos in solidum et omnia bona etc...Actum Romae in arce S.ti Angeli presentibus magistro Perino dicto del Capitano et magistro Paulo Berardini mediolanen. Incola castri Mazani testibus ad predicta [...]

Ego Desiderius Leopardus Not. rogat

Document 6

ASR, Notai Auditor Camerae, vol. 6470, f. 497
Testament of Michele Grechi, 24 maggio 1567,

Die 24 Maii 1567

In margine: Vide codicillum sub die 9 Iunii 1570

Dominus Michael Bartholomei Grechi, lucensis, pictor, sanus Dei gratia mente et intellectu licet corpore, languens, considerans nihil certius morte hora autem eius nihil incertius eius, nolens ab intestato decedere, sponte suum nuncupatum testamentum, quod de iure civili sine scriptis dicitur, condidit et fecit in hunc qui sequetur modum, verum:

In primis commendavit animam suam altissimo eiusque filio unigenito Domino nostro, Iesu Christo, et eius matri gloriosissime virgini Marie totique curie celesti, deprecans humiliter divinam maiestatem quatenus sibi peccata sua que non sine dolore et in hoc seculo commisse condonare dignetur.

Item dum et quando Deo placuit ipsem mori, voluit eius cadaver humanus in ecclesia Sancti Blasii vel alibi ubi venerari placuerit illustrissimo et reverendissimo domino Carli Sfortie, eius domino.

Item ex suis rebus et bonis mobilibus tam utensilibus domus ac persone sue et pecuniis et bonis concernentibus artem pictoris et aliis quibuslibet in Urbe existentibus ac ex suis creditis quibuscumque sibi ratione locorum mortuum personum annuarum ac hereditatis bone memorie illustrissimi et reverendissimi domini Guidonis Ascanii Sfortie dum vixit suprascripti reverendissimi eminentissimi Carlis camerarii et aliusquam de causa et occasione Rome debiti set in futurum debendis legavit et iure legati reliquit videlicet ser Nicolao Lancilotti luccensi scusta centum monete, et alia scuta centum similia Ioannino filio magistri Iohannis fabri, et domine Ttelene, ipsius testatoris sororis, et alia scuta triginta heredibus quondam Reineri pisani pictoris multorum et multorum, Luce defuncti.

Reliquum vero supradictorum rerum, honorum, pecuniarum et creditorum rerum, voluit et vult distribui et distribui debere per dictum illustrissimum et reverendissimum Don Carlem Sfortiam cui et quibus ipsi illustrissimo videbitur et placuerit vel per alium seu alios ab eodem illustrissimo deputatos pro refrigerio anime ipsius testatoris.

In omnibus autem aliis suis rebus et bonis, iuribus et condicionibus ubique sitis et positis ac res quocumque modo pto veris ulterius, heredes suos universales instituit et in proprio nominavit Lucam Grechi, eius fratrem germanum.

Executorem vel executores huius testamenti et ultime voluntatis, constituit et essere voluit illum vel illos quem vel quos dicto illustrissimo Don Carli Sfortie benemeritum fuerit deputati cuius deputationem faciendi omni modo tribuit facultatem et auctoritatem qui deputatus vel deputati possint crediti exigere debita si que erunt pro solutione demandare cum facultatibus necessariis et opprtunis.

Et hinc asseruit esse et esse velle suam ultimam voluntatem et ultimum testamentum quam et quod est, cassatum est, supradictis quibus est.

Actum Rome in palatio dicti illustrissimi Carlis Sfortie et in stantiis de camera dicti testatoris presentibus ibidem:

Don Vincenzo Bonanno, Brixienensis diocesis, cappellano dicti illustrissimi reverendissimi

Don Antonio Bonanno, Brixienensis diocesis

Frate Teophilo Brambilla, Cremonensis ordinis carmelitani

Iohanne Antonio Bonzono de Castro Guffredo, Brixienensis diocesis

Heronimo quondam Sanctis castri Chiusini, Pientine diocesis domini Senarum

Guglielmo Perier quondam Guillelmi, Petragoricensis diocesis, gallo, coquo et

Rinaldo, filio magistri Baptiste de Ferrariis de Castro, intra Mediolanensem diocesem.

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Images



Fig. 1. Fra' Bartolomeo, *The Holy Father, St. Mary Magdalen and St. Catherine from Siena*, Lucca Museo Nazionale Villa Guinigi



Fig. 2. Fra' Bartolomeo, *Madonna and Child between St. John the Baptist and St. Stephen*, Lucca, Cathedral



Fig. 3. Fra' Bartolomeo, *Mater Misericordiae*, Lucca, Museo Nazionale Villa Guinigi



Fig. 4 a. Giorgio Vasari, *Immaculate Conception*, Lucca, Museo Nazionale Villa Guinigi



Fig. 4 b and c. Giorgio Vasari, lateral panels of *St. Biagio* and *St. Eustachio*, *Immaculate Conception*, Lucca, Museo Nazionale Villa Guinigi

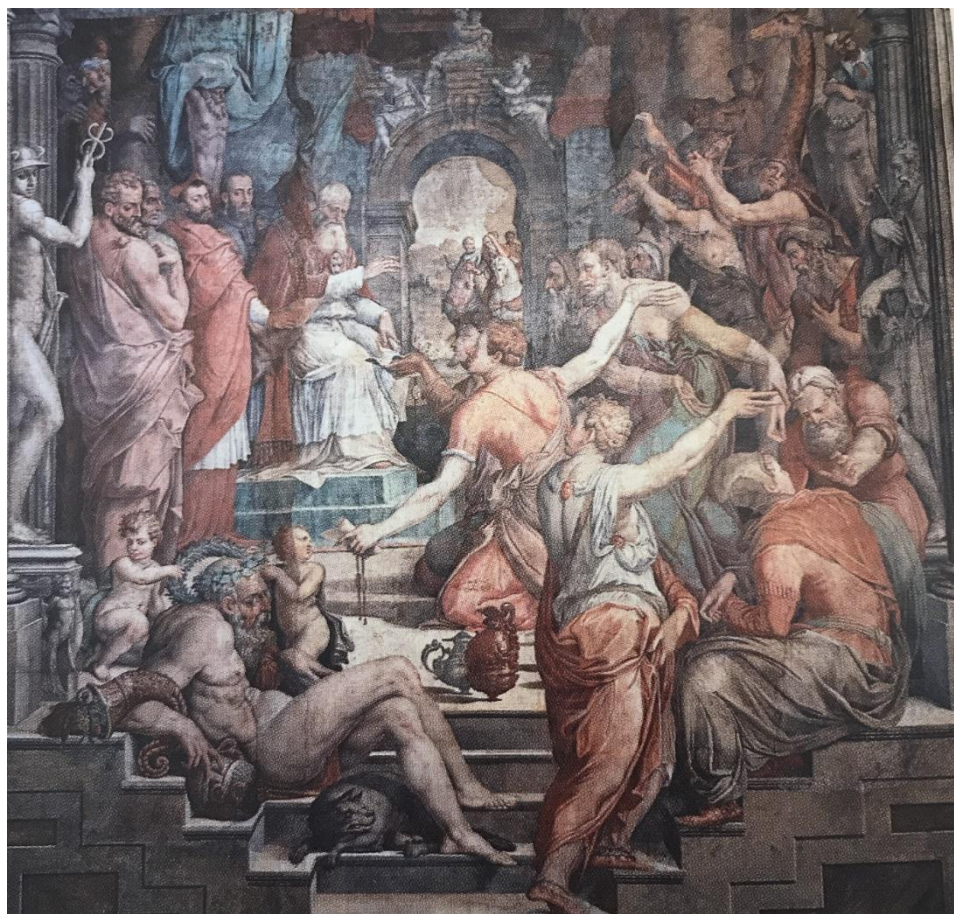


Fig. 5. Giorgio Vasari, *Nations Paying Homage to Paul III*, Sala dei Cento Giorni, Palace of the Cancelleria Apostolica, Rome

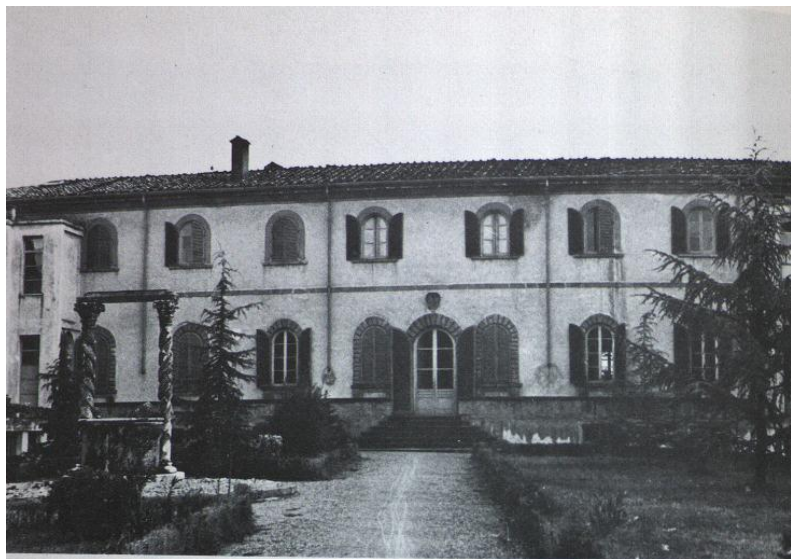


Fig. 6. Façade, Guidiccioni Villa, Carignano (Lucca)

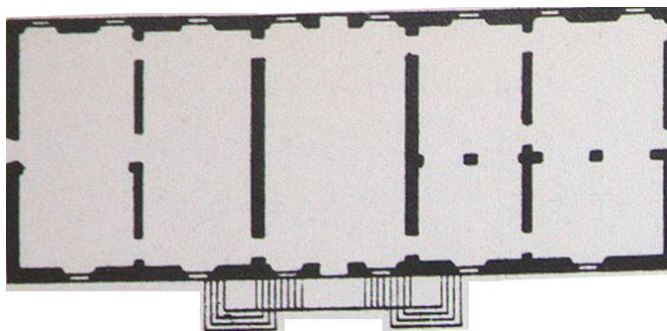


Fig. 7. Plan of the ground floor, Guidiccioni Villa, Carignano (Lucca)



Fig. 8. Façade, Guidiccioni Palace, Lucca

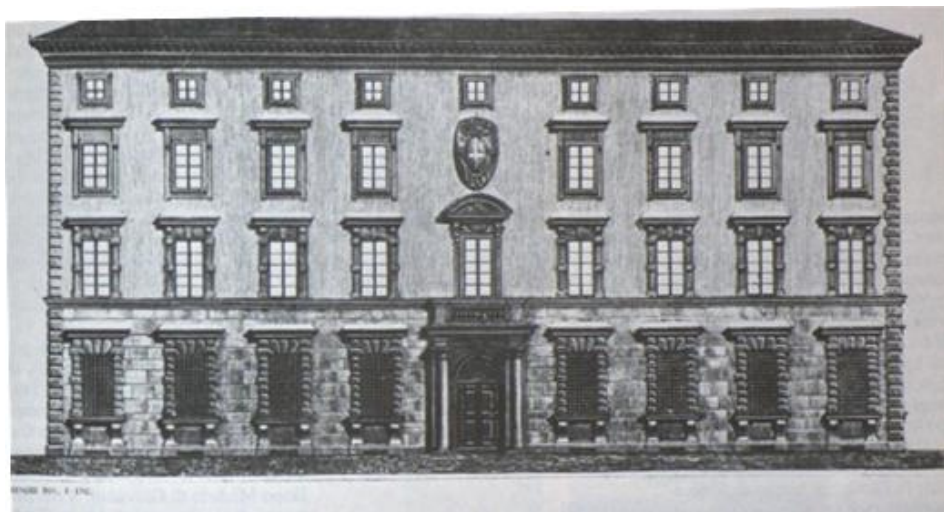


Fig. 9. Angelo Leopoldo Ardinghi, *Palazzo Guidiccioni*, Lucca, Archivio di Stato



Fig. 10. Portal, Guidiccioni Palace, Lucca



Fig. 11. Window of the ground floor, Guidiccioni Palace, Lucca



Fig. 12. Cortile degli Svizzeri, Palazzo Pubblico, Lucca



Fig. 13. Masque of a window of
the ground floor, Guidiccioni
Palace, Lucca



Fig. 14. Masque of the Cortile degli Svizzeri,
Palazzo Pubblico, Lucca



Fig. 15. Bernardi Palace, Lucca

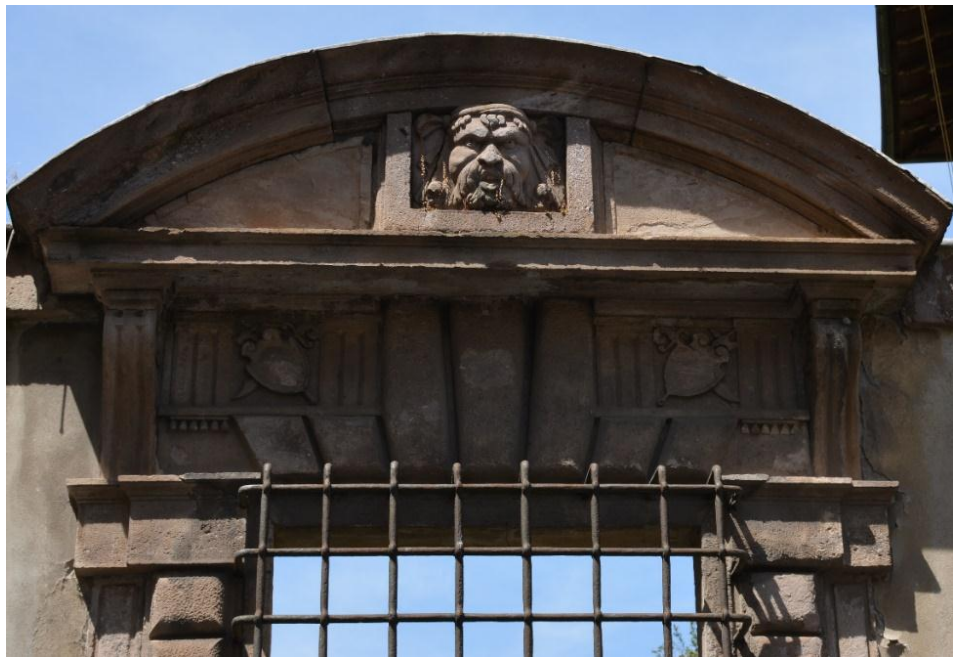


Fig. 16. Masque of a window of the outside wall, Villa Buonvisi, Lucca



Fig. 18. Window of the outside wall, Villa Buonvisi, Lucca



Fig. 17. Window of the second floor, Guidiccioni Palace, Lucca



Fig. 19. *Volto Santo*, Church of SS. Cosma and Damiano, Rome



Fig. 20. Perino del Vaga, *Quos Ego*, Windsor Castle, Royal Library, inv. RL 5497



Fig. 21 a and b. After Alessandro Cesati, *Medal*,
recto and *verso*, Brescia, Pinacoteca Civica
Mazzucchelli I inv. LXVI.1



Fig. 22. Alessandro Cesati, *Giovanni Guidiccioni*, steel die, 41mm, Edinburgh, National Museums of Scotland, inv. H QN 2



Fig. 23. Perino del Vaga, *The Shipwreck of Aeneas*, Parigi, Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques, inv. 636



Fig. 24. Giulio Bonasone, *The Shipwreck of Aeneas*, Bologna, Gabinetto Nazionale Disegni e delle Stampe, inv. P.N. 1709



Fig. 25. Parmigianino, *Circe with the Companions of Ulysses*, Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe, inv. 750 E

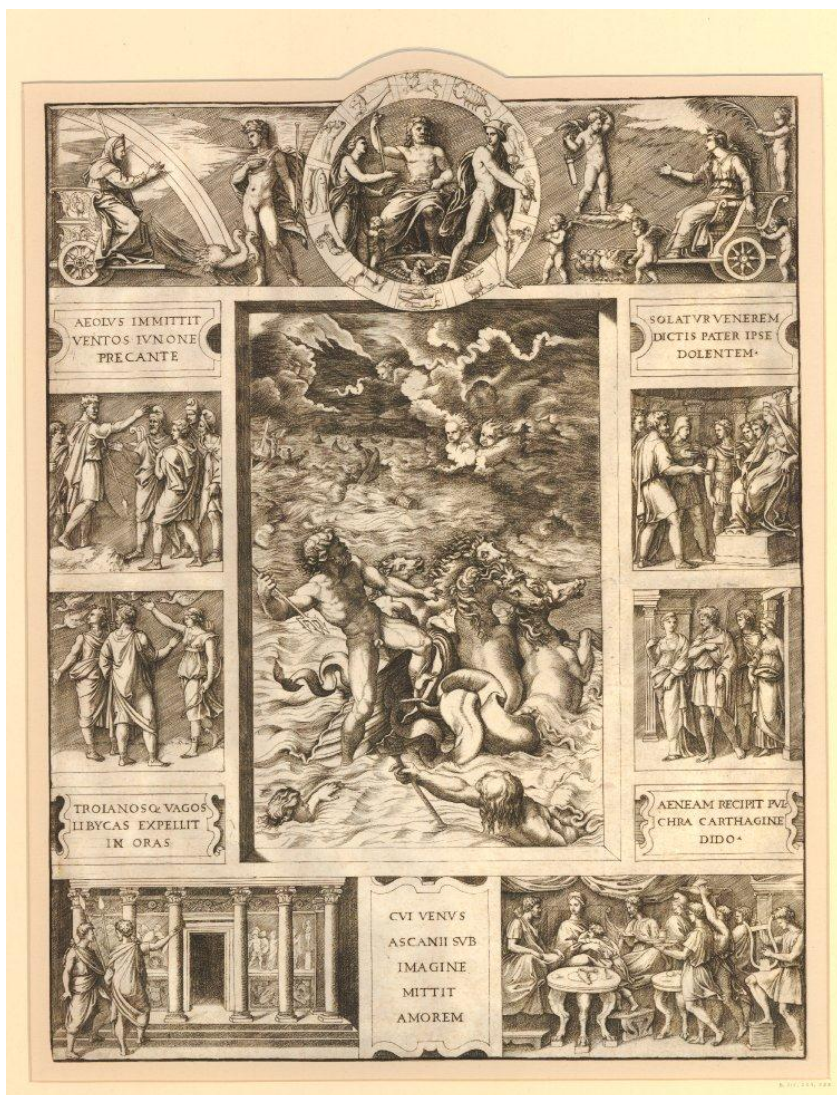


Fig. 26. Marcantonio Raimondi, *Quos Ego*, London, British Museum, Department of Prints & Drawings, inv. 1910,0212.340

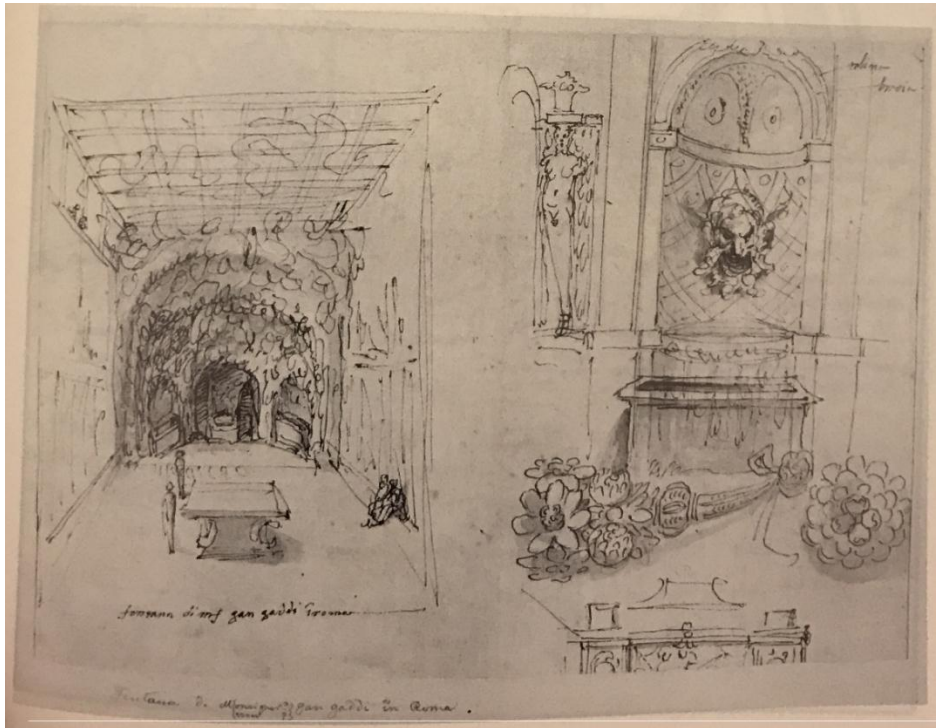


Fig. 27. Anonymous Italian Draftsman, Drawings of the grotto of Giovanni Gaddi, Rome, and a mask fountain, Christ Church Picture Gallery, Oxford, JBS 1481v



Fig. 28. Funeral Monument of Giovanni Guidiccioni, Church of San Francesco, Lucca



Fig. 29. Details, Funeral Monument of Giovanni Guidiccioni,
Church of San Francesco, Lucca



Fig. 30. Vincenzo Civitali, attrib., Cappella del Sacramento,
Cathedral of San Martino, Lucca



Fig. 31. Vincenzo Civitali, attrib., *Madonna and Child*, Porta Santa Maria, Lucca



Fig. 32. Monument of Giano Grillo, Church of Santa Maria dei Servi, Lucca



Fig. 33. Adrea Sansovino, Monument of Ascanio Sforza,
Church of Santa Maria del Popolo, Rome



Fig. 34. Adrea Sansovino, Monument of Girolamo Basso Della Rovere, Church of Santa Maria del Popolo, Rome



Fig. 35. Monument of Matteo Bandini, Museo Nazionale di San Matteo, Pisa, inv. 4948



Fig. 36. Giovanni Angelo Montorsoli, attrib., Monument of Mario Maffei, Cathedral, Volterra



Fig. 37. Alfonso Lombardi, Ramazzotti Monument, Church of San Michele in Bosco, Bologna



Fig. 38. Pierino da Vinci, Monument of Baldassarre Turini, Cathedral of Maria Santissima Assunta, Pescia



Fig. 39. Altar, Cathedral of San Martino, Lucca

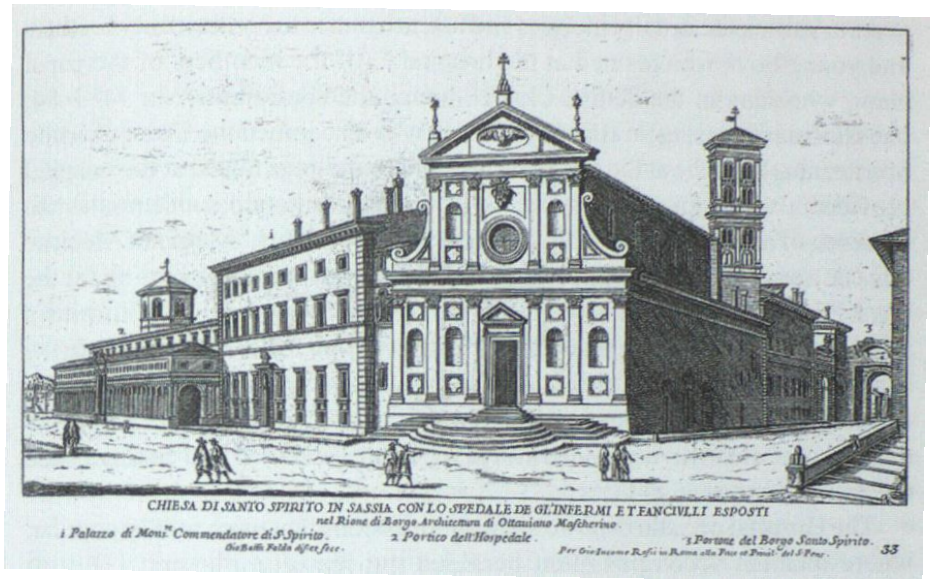


Fig. 40. Giovanni Battista Falda, *Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia*, engraving from *Il nuovo teatro delle fabbriche, e edificii, I prospettiva di Roma moderna*, Rome 1665



Fig. 41. Façade, Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia, Rome

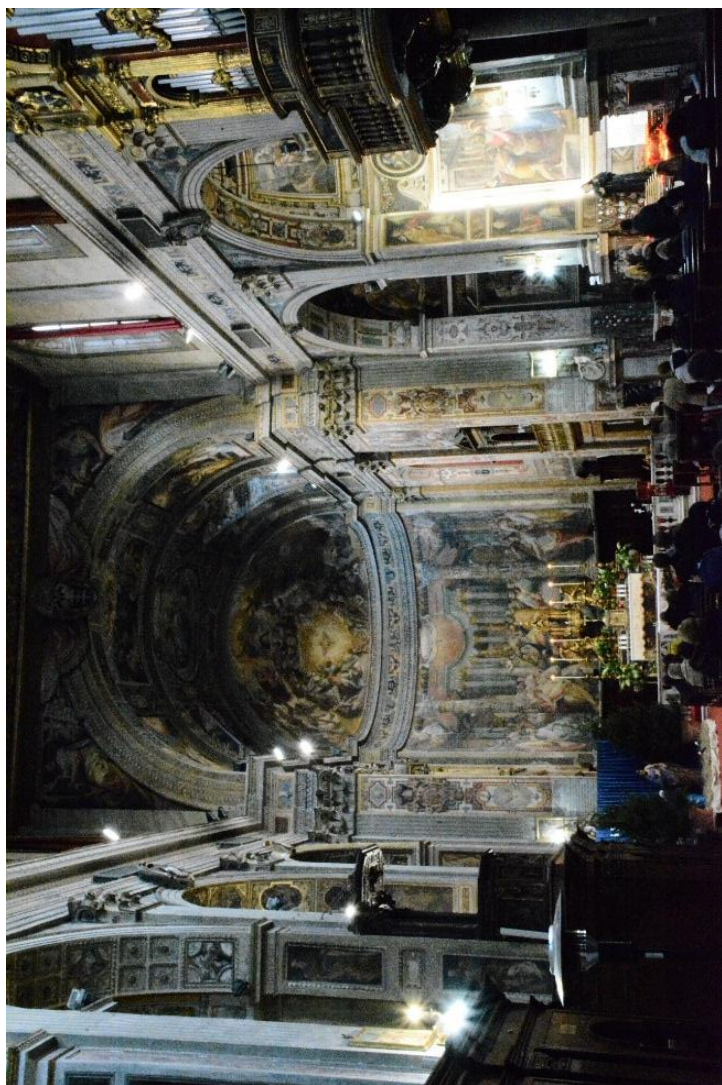


Fig. 42. Interior, Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia, Rome

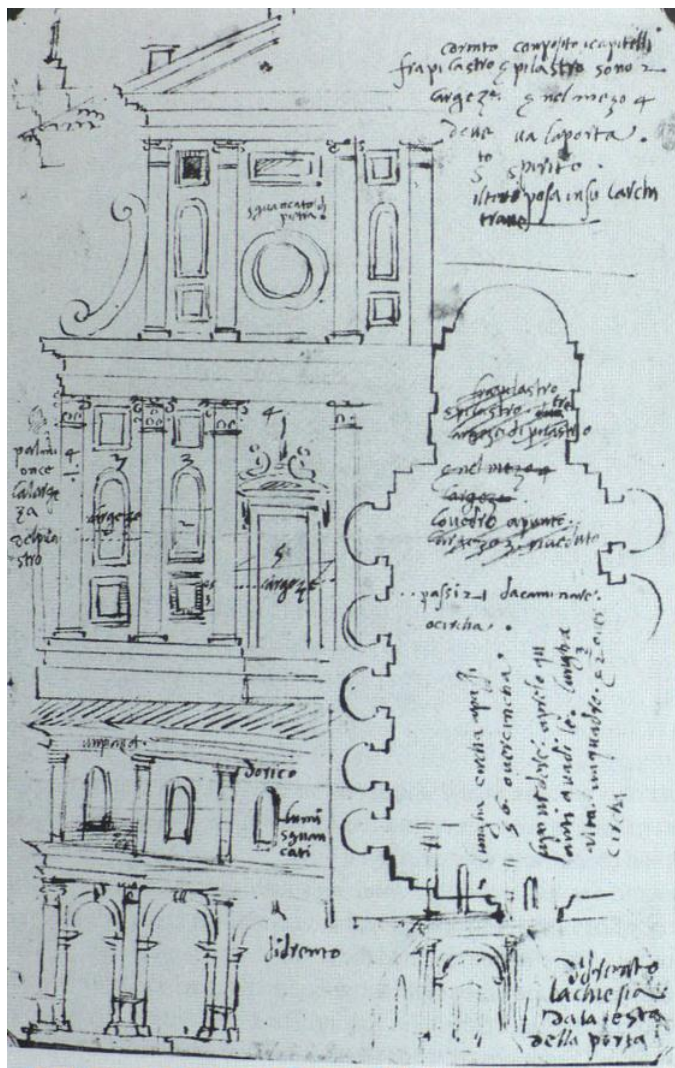




Fig. 44. Pedro de Rubiales, *Conversion of Saul*, Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia, Rome



Fig. 45. Marco Pino, *Visitation*, Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia, Rome



Fig. 46. Vault, Chapel of Francesco De Landis, Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia, Rome

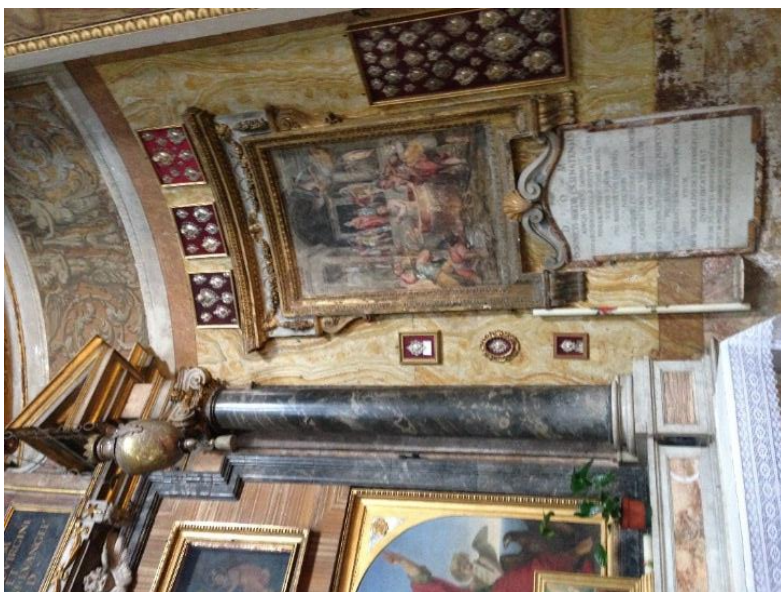


Fig. 47 a and b. Details of the fresco decoration, Chapel of Francesco De Landis, Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia, Rome



Fig. 48. Perino del Vaga's school, *Project for a Chapel*, Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich, inv. 34840



Fig. 49. Ceiling of the nave Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia, Rome

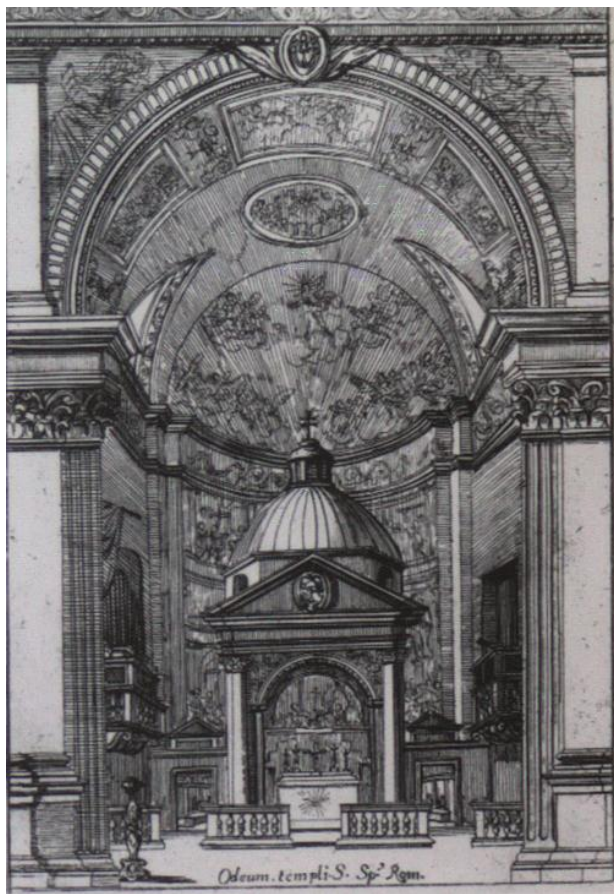


Fig. 50. Interior of Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia, Rome, engraving from P. Saulnier, *De Capite Sacri Ordinis S. Spiritus dissertatio*, Lyon 1649



Fig. 51. Interior of Corsia Sistina, Hospital of Santo Spirito, Rome, engraving from P. Saulnier, *De Capite Sacri Ordinis S. Spiritus dissertatio*, Lyon 1649

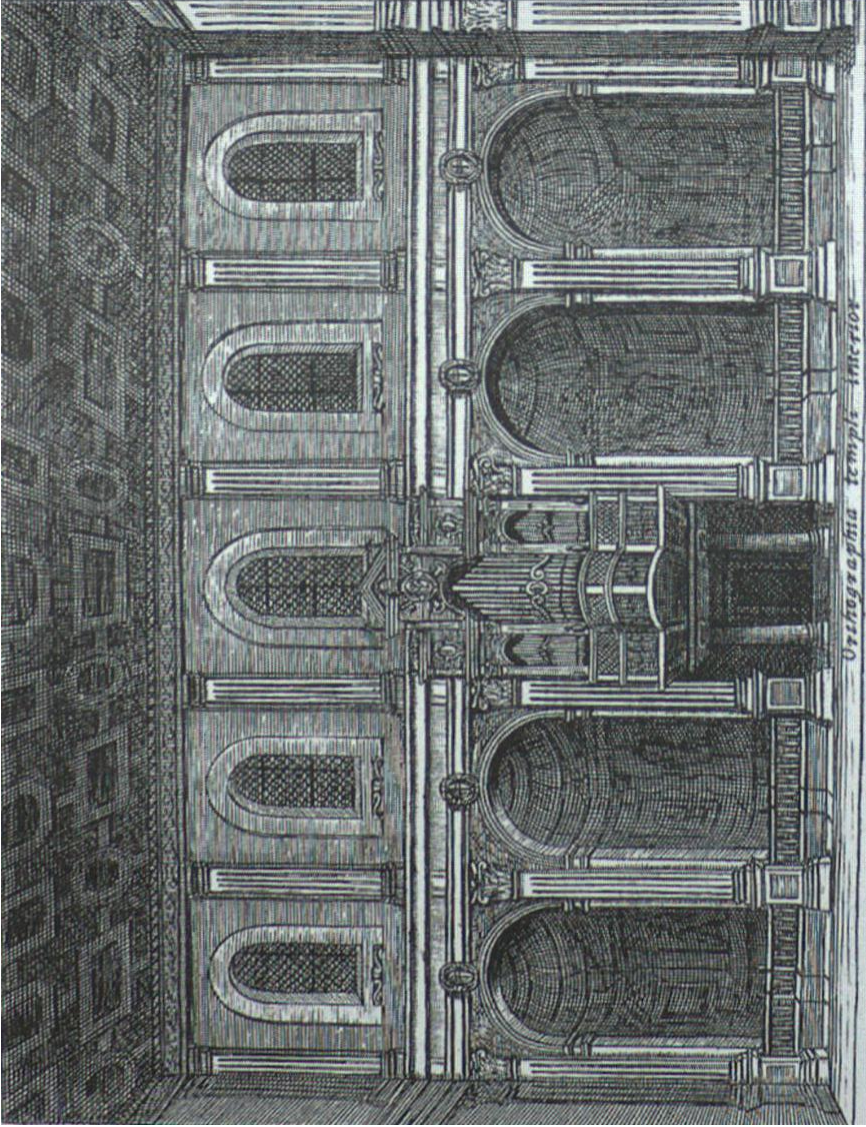


Fig. 52. View of the Nave Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia, Rome, engraving from P. Saulnier, *De Capite Sacri Ordinis S. Spiritus dissertatio*, Lyon 1649



Fig. 53. Ciborium after restoration, Hospital of Santo Spirito, Rome



Fig. 54. Ciborium before restoration, Hospital of Santo Spirito, Rome



Fig. 55. Cupola of the Ciborium after restoration, Hospital of Santo Spirito, Rome



Fig. 56. Cupola of the Ciborium before restoration, Hospital of Santo Spirito, Rome

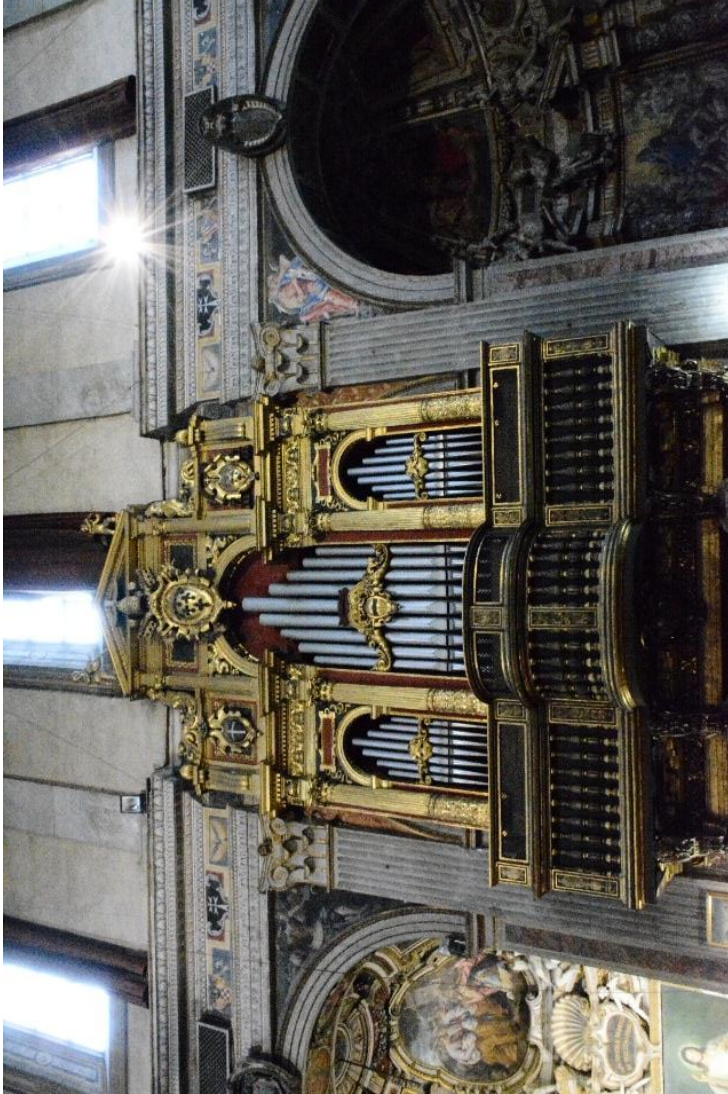


Fig. 57. Organ, Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia, Rome

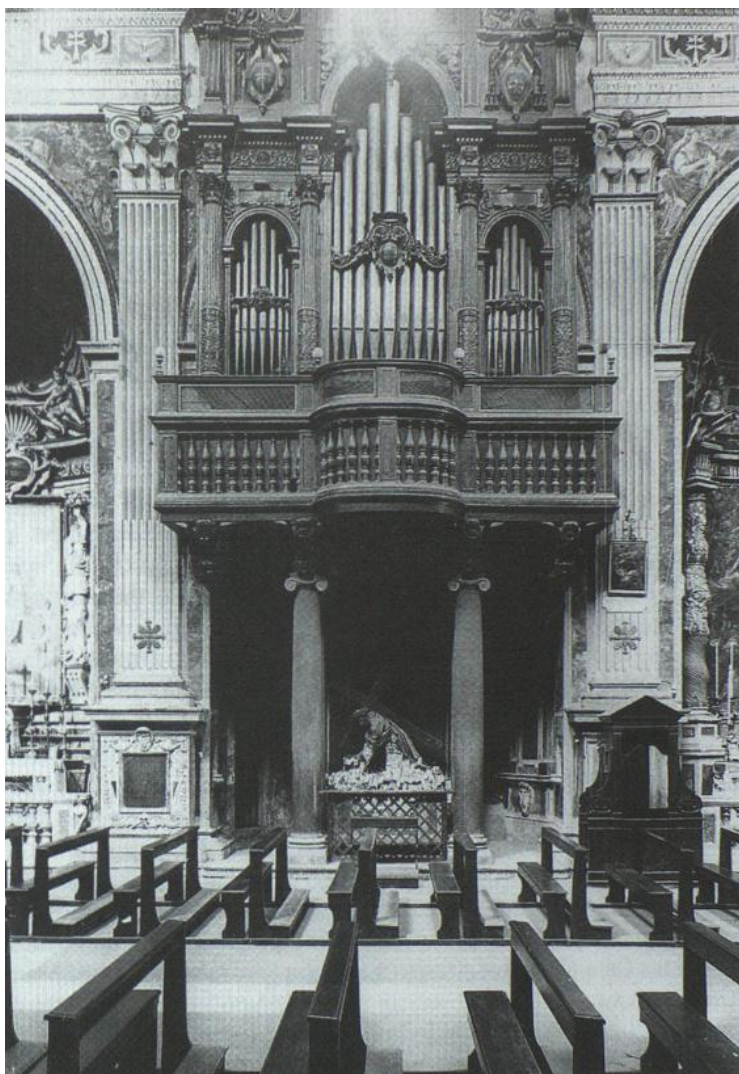


Fig. 58. Elevation of the Organ and Lateral Entrance in the Nave, Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia, Rome

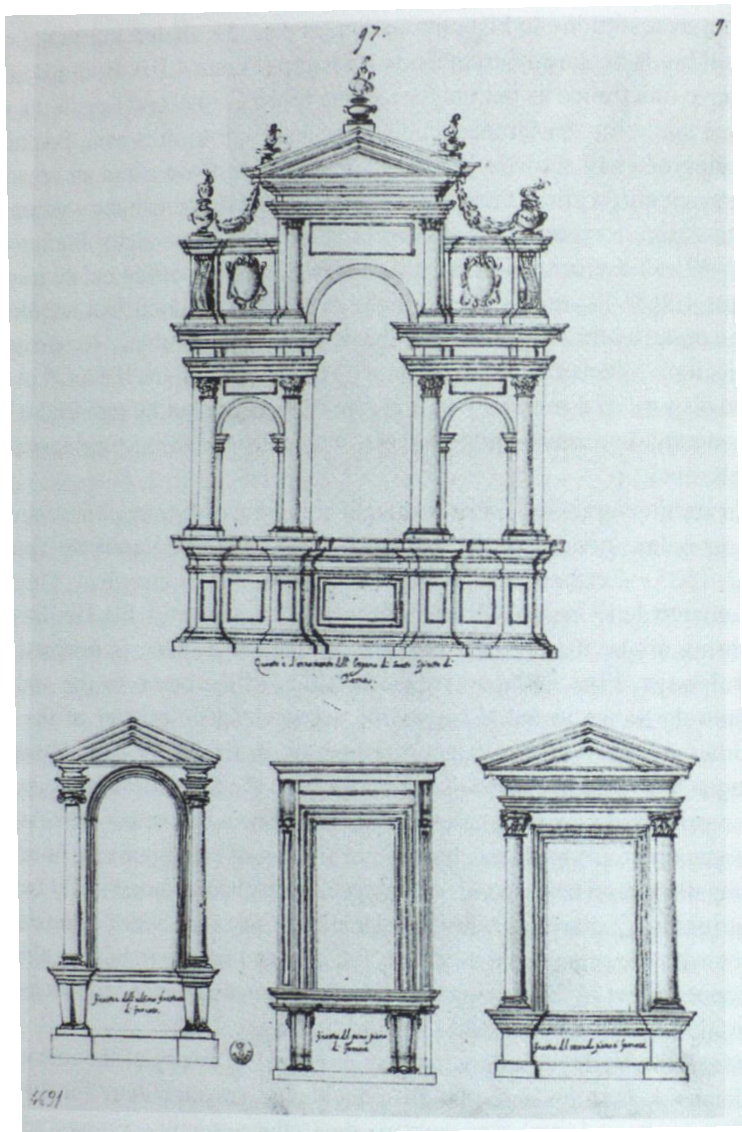


Fig. 59. Giorgio Vasari the Younger, *Drawing of the Organ Front, Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia, Uffizi, Florence*, inv. 4691r



Fig. 60. Guidiccioni Chapel seen from the organ, Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia, Rome



Fig. 61. Wall Elevation of Tribune, Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia, Rome



Fig. 62 a. Guidiccioni Chapel, Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia, Rome



Fig. 62 b. Guidiccioni Chapel, Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia, Rome



Fig. 62 c. Guidiccioni Chapel, Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia, Rome



Fig. 63. Michele Lucchese, the *Seizing of Christ*, Guidiccioni Chapel, Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia, Rome

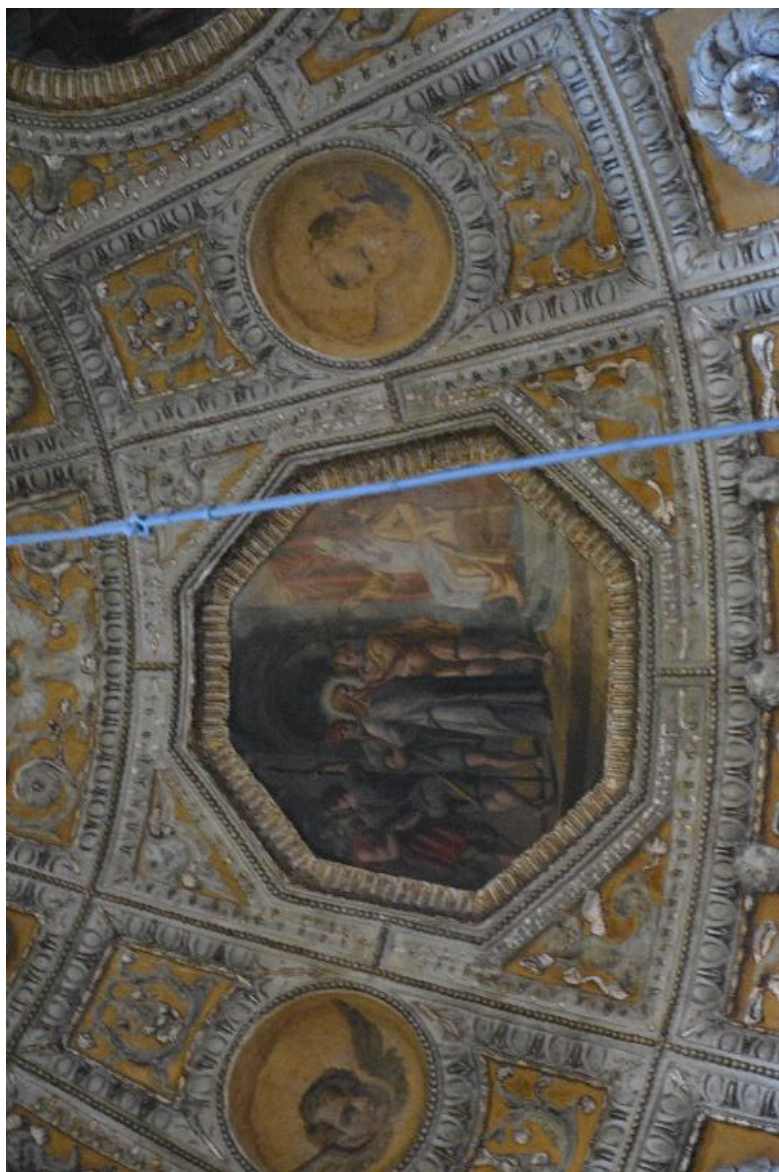


Fig. 64. Michele Lucchese, *Christ in front of Caiaphas*, Guidiccioni Chapel, Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia, Rome



Fig. 65. Michele Lucchese, the *Flagellation*, Guidiccioni Chapel, Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia, Rome

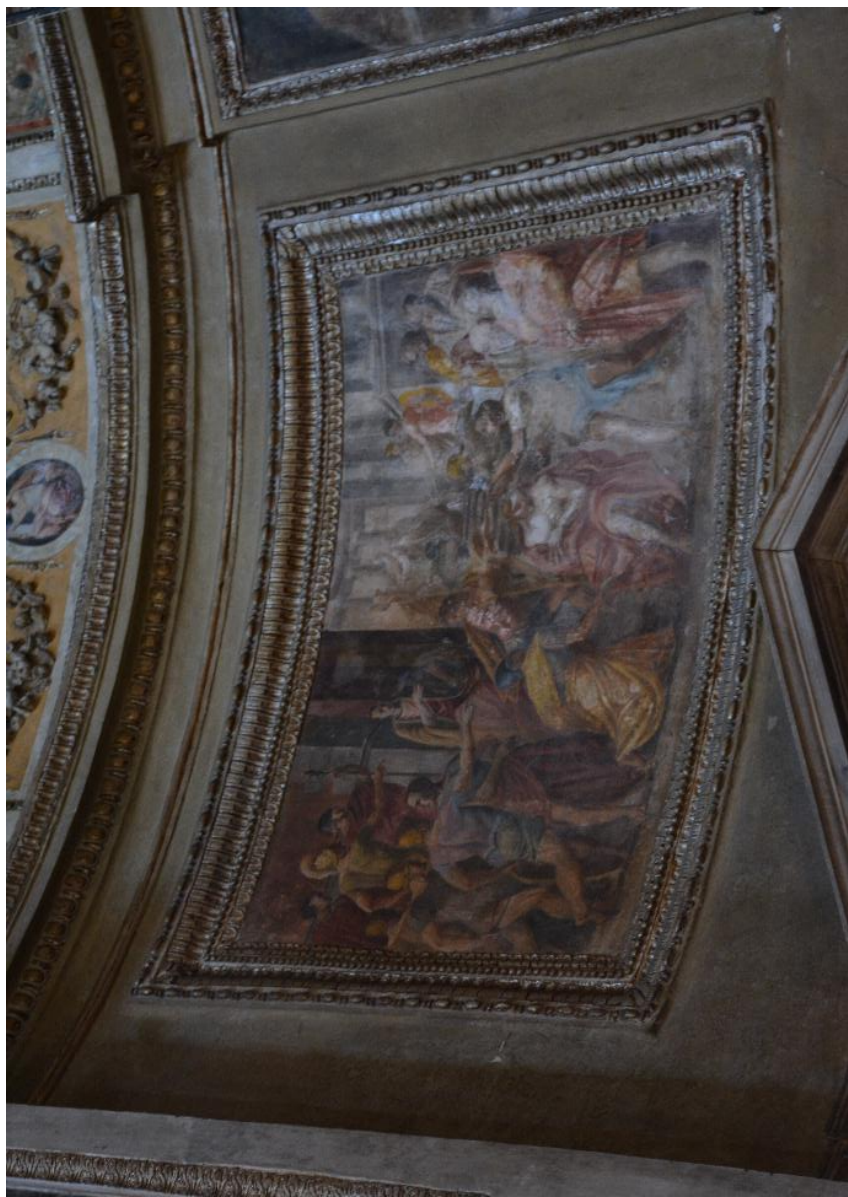


Fig. 66. Michele Lucchese, the *Crowning of Thorns*, Guidiccioni Chapel, Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia, Rome



Fig. 67. Michele Lucchese, *Christ before Pilate* and a *Prophet*, Guidiccioni Chapel, Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia, Rome



Fig. 68. Michele Lucchese, the *Way to Calvary*, Guidiccioni Chapel, Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia, Rome



Fig. 69. Michele Lucchese, *Prophet* of the left-low pilaster, Guidiccioni Chapel, Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia, Rome



Fig. 70. Michele Lucchese, *David*, Guidiccioni Chapel, Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia, Rome



Fig. 71. Michele Lucchese, *Micah*, Guidiccioni Chapel, Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia, Rome



Fig. 72. Foderato Memorial, Guidiccioni Chapel, Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia, Rome



Fig. 73. *Pietà Foderato*, Guidiccioni Chapel, Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia, Rome



Fig. 74. Michelangelo, *Pietà*, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston, inv. 1.2.o.16



Fig. 75. Giulio Bonasone, *Pietà* after Michelangelo,
The British Museum, London, inv. H, 4.68



Fig. 76. *Pietà*, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Città del Vaticano, inv. OA 34



Fig. 77. *Pietà Dusmet*, Palazzo Barberini, Rome



Fig. 78. Jacopo del Duca, *Pietà of the Ciborium*, Certosa, Padula



Fig. 79. Detail of the vault, Galleria degli Stucchi, Palazzo Spada-Capodiferro, Rome



Fig. 80. Michele Lucchese, *History of Niobe- II*, after Polidoro da Caravaggio, Istituto Nazionale per la Grafica, Rome



Fig. 81. Michele Lucchese, *History of Niobes-IV*, after Polidoro da Caravaggio, Albertina, Vienna, inv. I 31, f. 15

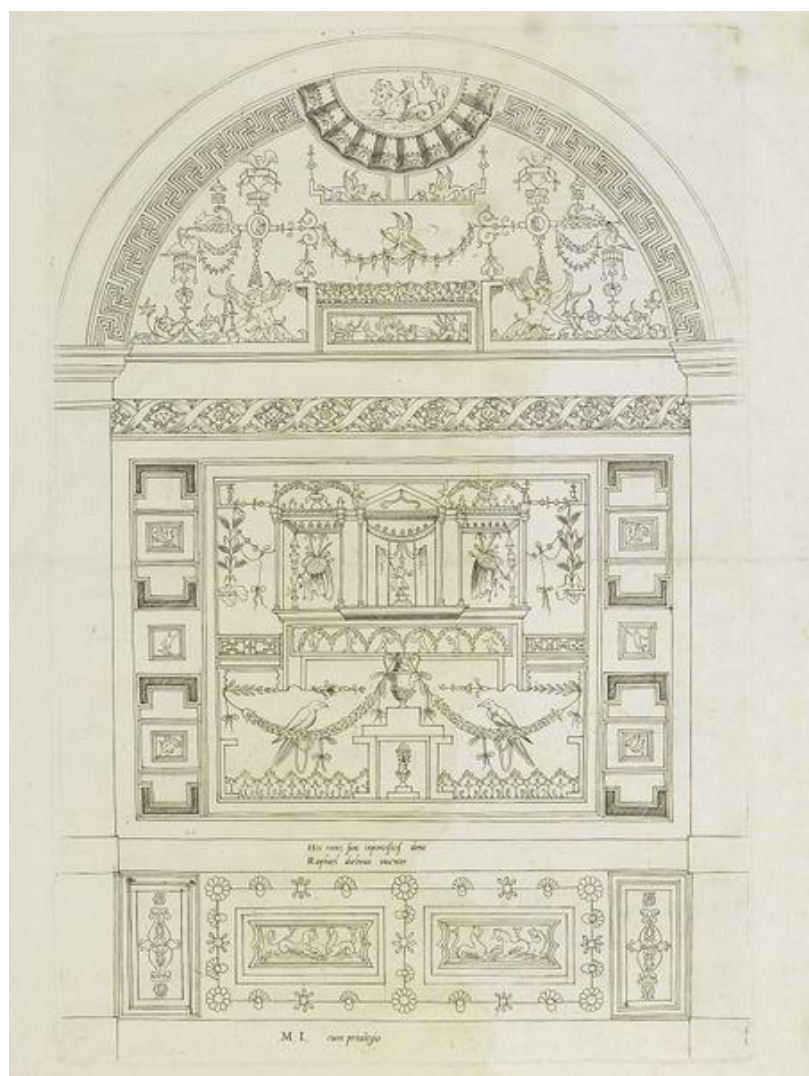


Fig. 82. Michele Lucchese, *Loggetta of Cardinal Bibbiena*, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, inv. E.1538-1959



Fig. 83. Michele Lucchese, the *Arrampicatori*, after Michelangelo, Castello Sforzesco, Raccolta delle Stampe Achille Bertarelli, Milan, inv. Art. prez. M. 165



Fig. 84. Michele Lucchese, *Ezechiel*, after Michelangelo, British Museum, London



Fig. 85. Michele Lucchese, the *Crucifixion of St. Peter*, after Michelangelo, Biblioteca Mauricelliana, Florence



Fig. 86. Michele Lucchese, the *Last Judgement*, after Michelangelo, Biblioteca Mauricelliana, Florence



Fig. 87. Michele Lucchese, *Prospettive et Antichità di Roma*,
Biblioteca Casanatense, Rome



Fig. 88. Jaques Androuet, *Vues d'optique*, Institut National d'histoire de l'art, Paris



Fig. 89. Michele Lucchese, *Man of Sorrows*, Real Colección de Estampas, San Lorenzo de El Escorial, inv. 28-I-19, fol. 22/a



Fig. 90. Albrecht Dürer, *Man of Sorrows*, Castello Sforzesco, Raccolta delle Stampe Bertarelli, Milan, inv. Art. prez. p. 195

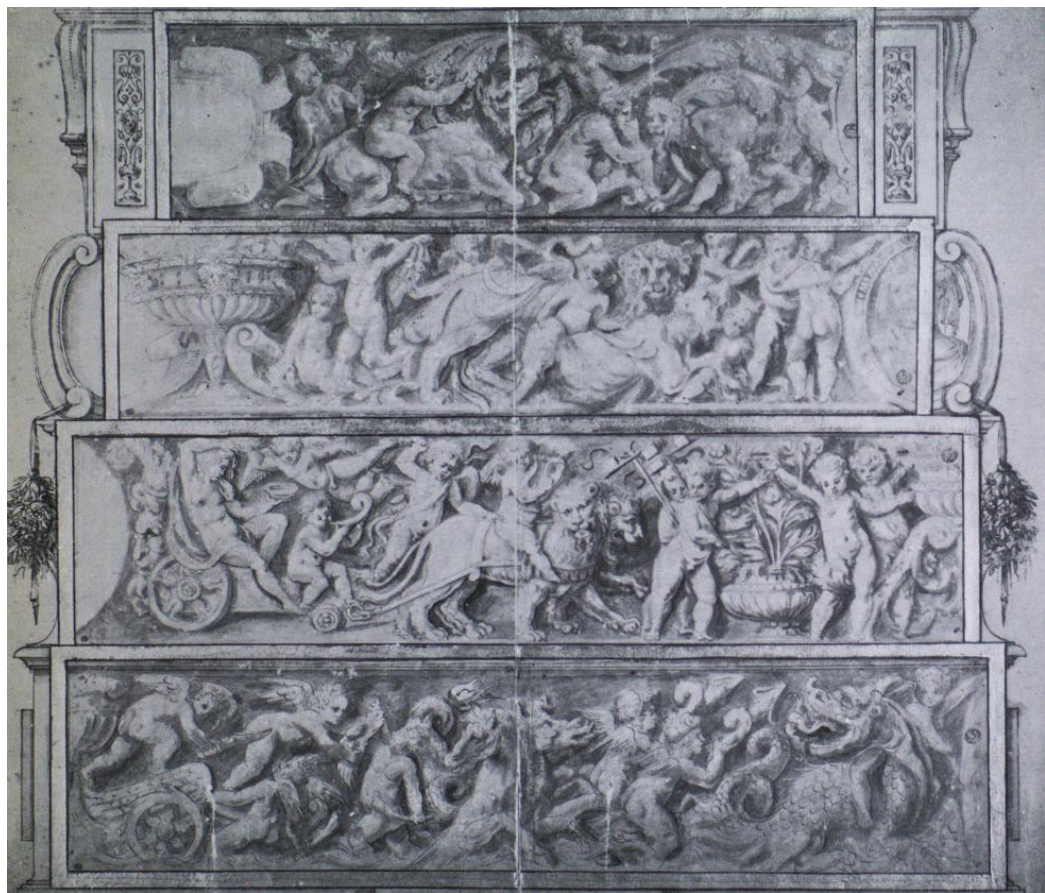


Fig. 92. Michele Lucchese, *Drawing with putti*, Musée du Louvre, Département des arts graphiques, Paris, inv. 1326

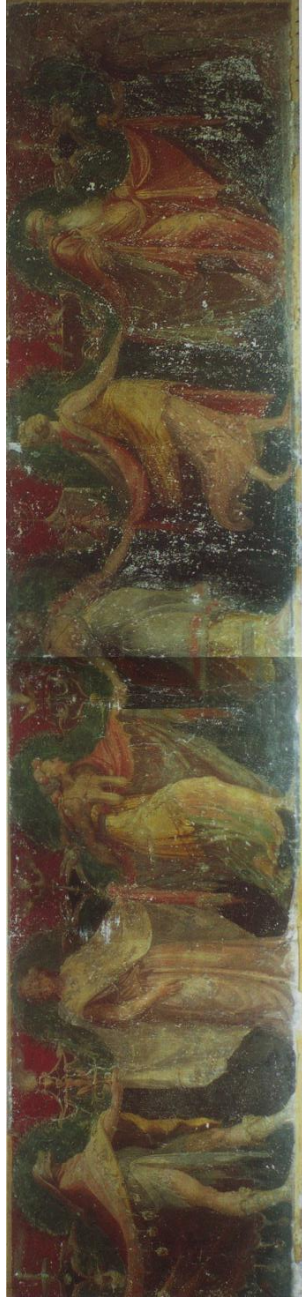


Fig. 93 a and b. Circle of Perino del Vaga, *Dancing figures*, frescos from the Palace of Paolo III in Campidoglio, Accademia di Belle Arti, Rome



Fig. 94. Circle of Perino del Vaga, *Dancing putti*, frescos from the Palace of Paolo III in Campidoglio, Accademia di Belle Arti, Rome



Fig. 95 a. Michele Lucchese, *frieze with putti*, Room of Clement VII, Castel Sant'Angelo, Rome



Fig. 95 b. Michele Lucchese, *frieze with putti*, Room of Clement VII, Castel Sant'Angelo, Rome



Fig. 96. Perino del Vaga, *Drawing for the Pucci Chapel*, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, Parker 1956, n. 728



Fig. 97. Perino del Vaga, *Drawing for the Chapel of Crucifixion*, Church of San Marcello al Corso, Windsor Castle, Royal Library, inv. 01218



Fig. 98. Perino del Vaga, *Holy Family with Saint John the Baptist*, The Courtauld Gallery, London



Fig. 99. Perino del Vaga, *Drawing for the Madonna and Child with St. Francis*, Albertina, Vienna, n. 435



Fig. 100. Perino del Vaga, *Madonna and Child with St. Joseph, St. Francis, and St. Dominic*, last chapel on the right side, Church of San Giorgio, Genoa

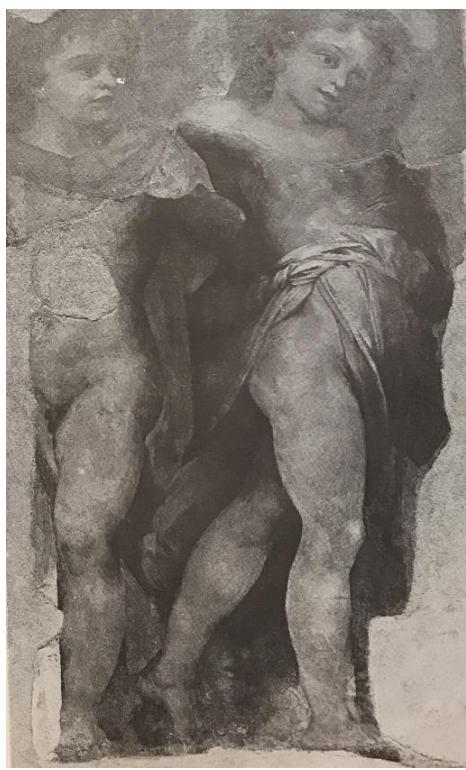


Fig. 101 a, b and c. Perino del Vaga, *putti* from the Cathedral of Pisa, Soprintendenza per i Beni Ambientali, Architettonici, Artistici e Storici, Pisa

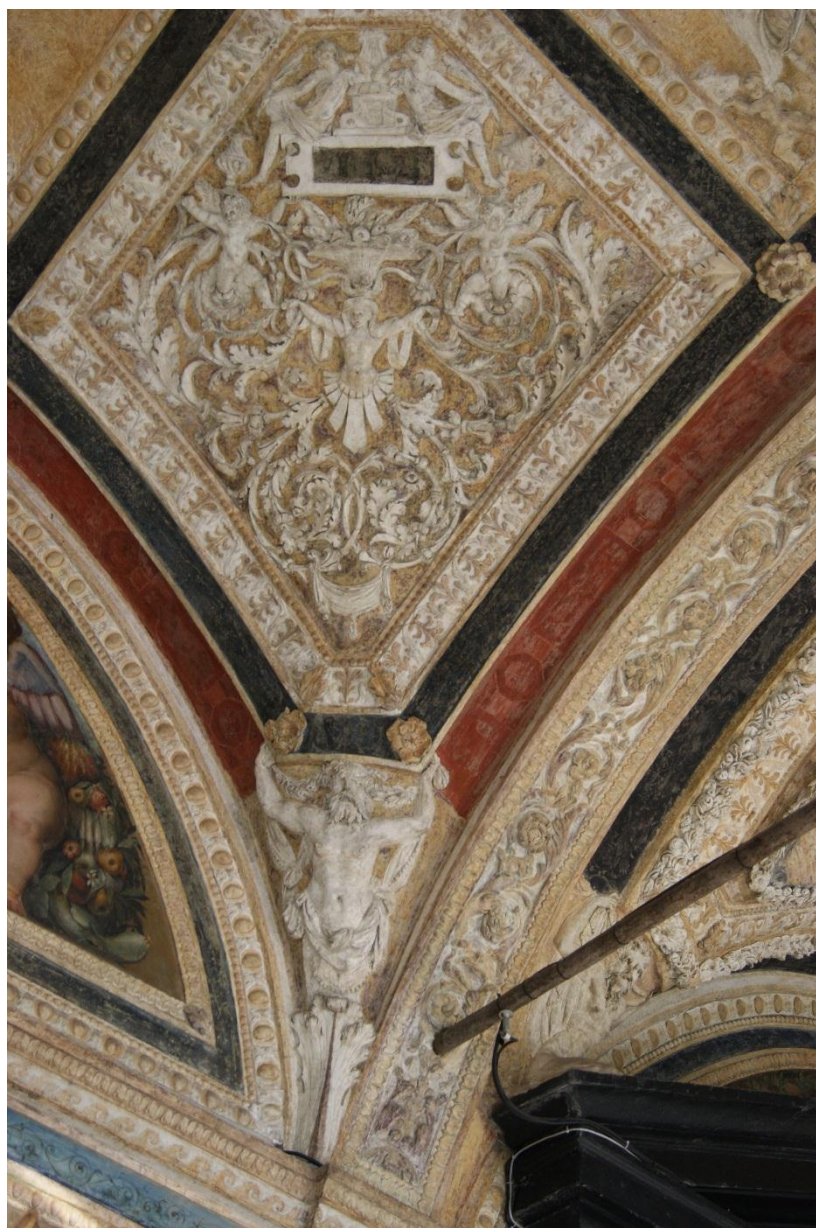


Fig. 102. Detail of a vault, Loggia degli Eroi, Palazzo Doria, Genoa



Fig. 103. Lunette, Loggia degli Eroi, Palazzo Doria, Genoa



Fig. 104 a. Stucco reliefs, Guidiccioni Chapel, Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia, Rome



Fig. 104 b. Stucco reliefs, Guidiccioni Chapel, Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia, Rome

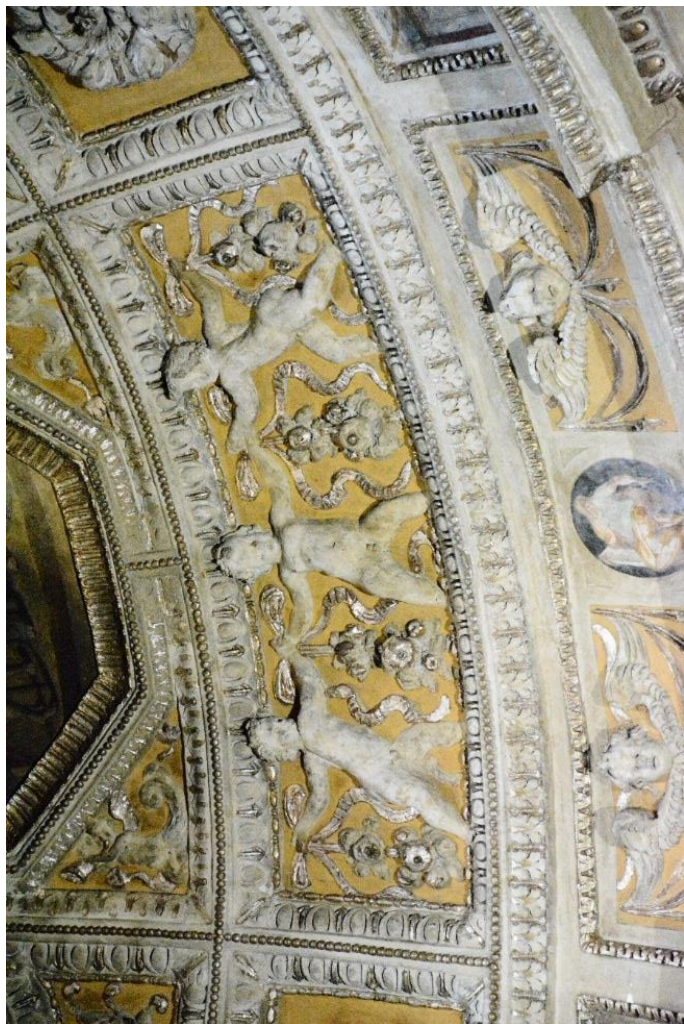


Fig. 105 a. Stucco reliefs, Guidicioni Chapel, Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia, Rome



Fig. 105 b. Stucco reliefs, Guidiccioni Chapel, Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia, Rome



Fig. 106 a. Stucco reliefs, Loggia degli Eroi, Doria Palace, Genoa

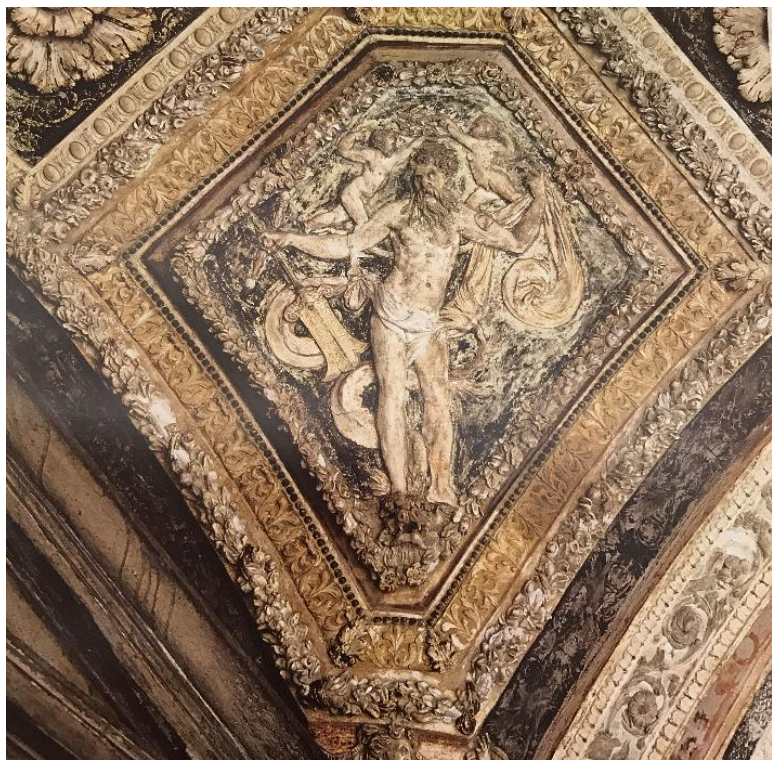


Fig. 106 b. Stucco reliefs, Loggia degli Eroi, Doria Palace, Genoa



Fig. 107 a. Stucco reliefs, Sala della Biblioteca, Castel Sant'Angelo, Rome



Fig. 107 b. Stucco reliefs, Sala della Biblioteca, Castel Sant' Angelo, Rome



Fig. 108. *Apparition of Aeneas and Achates*, Palazzo Massimo, Rome



Fig. 109.
Detail, *Christ
before Pilate*,
Guidiccioni
Chapel,
Church of
Santo Spirito
in Sassia,
Rome

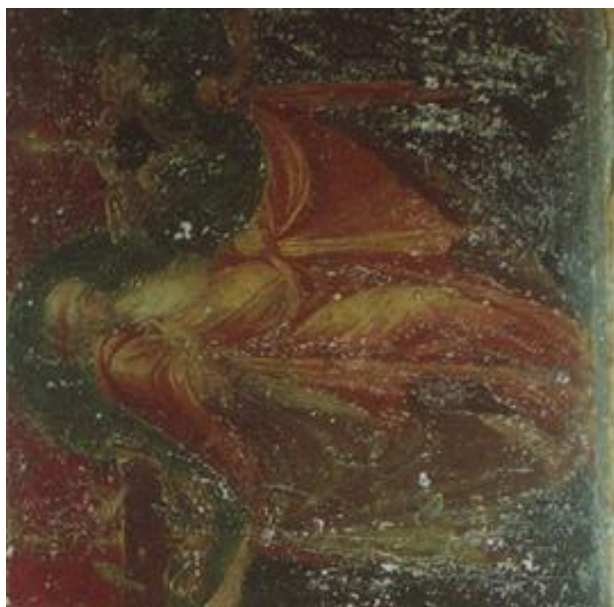


Fig. 110. Detail, frescos from the Palace of Paolo III in Campidoglio, Accademia di Belle Arti, Rome

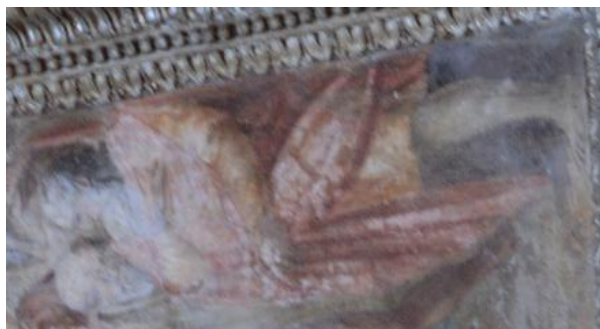


Fig. 111. Detail, the *Crowning of Thorns*, Guidiccioni Chapel, Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia, Rome



Fig. 112. Giovanni Antonio Dosio, *Dionysus Visiting a Tragic Poet*,
Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin, Codex Berolensis 79, DI, f. 26



Fig. 113. Michele Lucchese, *The Fall of Phaeton*, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, inv. DYCE.1333



Fig. 114. Michele Lucchese, *The Madonna of Silence*, Real Colección de Estampas, San Lorenzo de El Escorial